# ANUNDORAM BOROOAH

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MUKUNDA MADHAVA SHARMA

ANUNDORAM BOROOAH INSTITUTE
OF LANGUAGE, ART & CULTURE

# ANUNDORAM BOROOAH

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Anundoram Borooah Institute
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ANUNDORAM BOROOAH, a monograph on the life and works of Anundoram Borooah, B.A., Bar-at-Law, I.C.S. by Mukunda Madhava Sharma, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.(Cal), Kavyatirtha, Professor of Sanskrit, Gauhati University, Guwahati - 781 014, Assam, India, published by Shri T.R. Taid, M.A., Dip. App. Ling.(Reading), Director, Anundoram Borooah Institute of Language, Art & Culture, Assam, Tarun Nagar, Guwahati -.781 005, Assam, May, 1992.

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**ANUNDORAM BOROOAH**

*b. 21 May 1850*
*d. 19 January 1889*

# PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The Anundoram Borooah Institute of Language, Art and Culture (ABILAC for short) has been newly set up by the government of Assam as an autonomous institute for research and promotional work in the fields of indigenous languages, art and culture. The institute has been structured to accommodate four main departments, viz. (1) department of Languages and Linguistics, (2) department of Literature and Translation, (3) department of Folklore and Oral Traditions, and, (4) department of Culture, Art and Music. Although these are yet to be shaped into fully-fledged departments, the institute, with the advice of committees of experts, has already drawn up various academic projects pertaining to all of them. Several such projects are now in the process of implementation. It may be pointed out here that many of the projects will culminate in the form of publications, and, publications in the concerned areas will, in fact, form a major part of the institute's activities.

ABILAC has been named after the noted Sanskritist, Anundoram Borooah (1850-1889), who also happened to be one of the earliest members of the Indian Civil Service. Considering the close association of Anundoram Borooah's name with Sanskrit studies, ABILAC has decided to have in it a special cell for Sanskrit studies also. The institute itself is being set up at Rajaduar, North Guwahati, Assam, where the noted scholar was born. It has, meanwhile, instituted an annual award, named the Anundoram Borooah Award, for scholarly excellence in the fields of Sanskrit and allied Indological studies as well as of literature, language, art and culture. While the institute will be engaging itself in a wide range of activities in the years ahead, these few measures, beginning with the naming of the institute, should serve as humble tributes paid by the people of Assam to the great scholar.

ABILAC further felt that it would be in the fitness of things for the institute to launch its publications with a monograph on Anundoram Borooah. We are glad that Professor Mukunda Madhava Sharma, M.A, Ph.D., D. Litt (Cal), Kavyatirtha, of the department of Sanskrit, Gauhati University, who was requested to take up the work, could make time to write the monograph in the midst of his preoccupations and complete it on time. We are indeed grateful to Professor Sharma for the hard work that he had to do in this connection.

Dated Guwahati
March 31, 1992

T. R. Taid
Director, ABILAC

# PREFACE

The present monograph on the life, works and the personality of Anundoram Borooah grew out of a number of lectures delivered by me in course of the last eighteen years. The first of these lectures was delivered on the occasion of the unvailing of a portrait of Anundoram Borooah by me in the Tezpur Sahitya Sabha Bhavan on 16 September, 1973. The last of these lectures was delivered on 27 November, 1987, when I had the privilege to deliver the first Annual Anundoram Borooah Memorial Lecture instituted by the Assam Government Sanskrit College, Guwahati. The text of all these lectures, barring one, was in Assamese.The occasion for preparing the first draft of the present monograph in English, so to say, came when I was invited to deliver in the University of Bombay on 8 and 9 July, 1982 the third biennial Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar Memorial Lecture on Anundoram Borooah. It was, indeed, highly laudable on the part of Professor N. Mukherji and others to think of founding the said Memorial Lectureship "for perpetuating the memory of those men and women of this country who by their contributions in matters of social and cultural importance have raised the edifice of modern India and yet for their self-effaced nature are little known outside their home states." The idea is commendable more particularly because Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar was a great humanist. He was a rare exception to the time and clime to which he belonged. He was a traditional brahmin Sanskrit scholar, and yet he had a rare degree of catholicity of outlook. Ishwar Chandra hailed from Bengal, and yet he belonged to the whole of India, nay, to the whole world, the one undivided home of the human community. In the present monograph it will be seen that a good deal of significance may be attached to the association of the two names Ishwar Chandra and Anundoram. Hence, it is a matter of great pleasure for me to put on record my hearty compliments to the founders of the said endowment, and a deep sense of gratefulness to the University of Bombay and to Professor Dr. J. M. Choudhuri, the then Vice-Chancellor of Gauhati University and Professor Dr H. P. Das, the then Rector of Gauhati University for giving me the opportunity to talk on the life and works of Anundoram Borooah, the most illustrious son of modern Assam and undoubtedly one of the worthiest sons of Mother India and one of the most ideal citizens

of the world of letters.

The text of the lecture delivered in the University of Bombay, however, now stands much enlarged and thoroughly revised at the instance of Professor Dr Praphulladatta Goswami, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Anundoram Borooah Institute of Language, Art and Culture, Assam, to whom I remain highly indebted for his constructive suggestions. I also remain extremely grateful to Shri Tabu Ram Taid, Director, Anundoram Borooah Institute of Language, Art and Culture, Shri A.H. Choudhury, Special Officer, Assam State Archives, the officers and the staff of the K. K. Handiqui Library of Gauhati University, Shri Basistha Barman, Dr Banikanta Sarma, Dr Sreemati Malinee Goswami, and my wife Sreemati Elima Sharma and many others for helping me in various ways in course of preparing this work for publication. With a deep sense of appreciation I would like to associate with the present monograph the names of Shri Gurupada Chaudhury, Dr Miss Punya Barua, Dr Smti Krishna Chakravarti Gangooli (of the National Library), Dr Joydev Gangooly Shastri (Reader, Calcutta Sanskrit College), Professor Dr Satya Ranjan Banerjee (of the Dept. of Linguistics, Calcutta University) and Dr Dilip Kumar Kanjilal (Principal, Calcutta Sanskrit College) for helping me consult the extremely rare first editions of many of the works of Anundoram Borooah. I am indeed much beholden to Dr N. K. Choudhury, Vice-Chancellor, Gauhati University, for his keen interest in the present academic undertaking of mine. Finally, I acknowledge with all humility my indebtedness to the authors of the books which I had to consult and utilise in various ways because, as stated by Abhinavagupta in *Abhinavabhāratī* (ch.vi), "the truth, which is perceived by our tireless intellect, climbing higher and higher, is the result of the ladder of thought designed by earlier thinkers." :

Ūrdhvordhvam āruhya yadarthatattvaṁ
Dhīḥ paśyati śrāntimavedayantī.
Phalaṁ tadādyaiḥ parikalpitānāṁ
Vivekasopānaparamparāṇāṁ :

December 8, 1991
Guwahati 781 014 (INDIA)

*Mukunda Madhava Sharma*
Gauhati University

## मंगलाचरणम्

ईश्वराम्मासुतं वन्दे लीलामनुजविग्रहम् ।
यत्प्रसादलवेनैव कृतकृत्यो भवेन्नरः ।।
ईश्वरचन्द्रसंज्ञाय बुधायाऽनल्पमेधसे ।
विद्यासागररूपाय साञ्जलिः प्रणमाम्यहम् ।।
भारतीवरपुत्राय तद्यशोगानलालसः ।
आनन्दरामभद्राय गुणमुग्धो नमाम्यहम् ।

## INVOCATION

I pay my homage to the son of Isvaramma,
who has assumed a human form only
by way of indulging in sport, with an iota of
whose good grace
alone a person may have the
satisfaction of having accomplished anything.

I salute with folded palms that
great scholar of profound erudition named
Isvaracandra who is like an ocean of learning.

Ardently longing for singing his glory
as an admirer of his qualities
I salute that noble person named
Anandarama who is, as it were,
the choicest son of Bharati
(the goddess of learning).

# Scheme of Transliteration

(This scheme applies to Sanskrit, Assamese and Bengali languages)

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| अ | – | a | ट | – | ṭa |
| आ | – | ā | ठ | – | ṭha |
| इ | – | i | ड | – | ḍa |
| ई | – | ī | ढ | – | ḍha |
| उ | – | u | ण | – | ṇa |
| ऊ | – | ū | त | – | ta |
| ऋ | – | ṛ | थ | – | tha |
| ए | – | e | द | – | da |
| ऐ | – | ai | ध | – | dha |
| ओ | – | o | न | – | na |
| औ | – | au | प | – | pa |
| अं | – | aṁ | फ | – | pha |
| अः | – | aḥ | ब | – | ba |
| ॲ | – | ă | भ | – | bha |
| क | – | ka | म | – | ma |
| ख | – | kha | य | – | ya |
| ग | – | ga | र | – | ra |
| घ | – | gha | ल | – | la |
| ङ | – | ṅa | व | – | va, wa |
| च | – | ca | श | – | śa |
| छ | – | cha | ष | – | ṣa |
| ज | – | ja | स | – | sa |
| झ | – | jha | ह | – | ha |
| ञ | – | ña | क्ष | – | kṣa |
| | | | ज्ञ | – | jña |

NOTE: For one vertical line put at the end of the first half of a verse as a period mark we have used a full stop (.). For the two vertical lines at the end of the second half of a verse we have used a colon (:).

In quotations we have retained the scheme of transliteration followed by respective authors.

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# Part One

## *Introductory note on Anundoram's life*

Anundoram Borooah was born at North Guwahati in Assam in May, 1850 and died in Calcutta as a bachelor on January 19, 1889 when he was only 38 years 8 months old. Within this short span of life he earned recognition in India and abroad as a very brilliant student and as a leading Sanskrit scholar and made his mark as one of the few Indians to hold high offices of the Indian Civil Service. Apart from being an administrator of exceptional standing and a scholar of singular distinction, Anundoram was also a great man with a different mould of mind, as our dispassionate re-appraisal would reveal by and by. He was exceptional in so many ways - he was the first Assamese to graduate from any university, first Assamese to become a Barrister-at-Law, the first Assamese to become a member of the Indian Civil Service. He was one of the first five Indians to join the I.C.S. and he was the first Indian to become the administrative head of an entire district in those days of British rule in India. It must be reckoned as a commendable performance, particularly when we take note of the contemporary socio-political conditions of the state from which he hailed.

## *Assam in the nineteenth century*

Assam had a glorious past. Before annexation to the territory of East India Company Assam had been ruled by Ahom monarchs for about six hundred years. But towards the close of the Ahom rule a lamentable retrogression set in due to confusion of civil wars, insurrections and repeated invasions by the Burmese.

King Chandrakanta Simha of the Ahom dynasty ruled from 1811 to 1818 with his capital at Jorhat with Purnananda, the Premier, as the *de facto* ruler and Badanchandra as the Viceroy stationed at Guwahati . Unfortunately, a distrust ensued between the Premier and the Viceroy. Pijau Gabharu, a daughter of the

Viceroy happened to be a daughter-in-law of the Premier. A secret message from his agents stationed at the capital, confirmed by a similar message from his daughter, cautioned the Viceroy against an impending danger from the Premier. Badan then fled to Calcutta and asked the East India Company for military assistance. Being refused by the Company Badan approached the king of Burma. After waiting in Burma for full 16 months Badan got the required military assistance and invaded Assam in March 1817. The Premier had died in the meanwhile. A victorious Badan entered the capital and Chandrakanta continued as the king with the former as the *de facto* ruler. The queen mother, however, got Badan assassinated. In February 1818 Chandrakanta was deposed and one Brajanath became the *de facto* ruler with his ten-year old son Purandar on the throne. These developments provoked the Burmese, who invaded Assam once again and occupied the capital in February 1819. Purandar fled to Bengal and Chandrakanta got reinstated. But the Burmese became the virtual rulers and started committing atrocities on Assamese citizens. When Chandrakanta tried to assert himself, the third Burmese invasion took place in March 1821. Chandrakanta fled to Bengal. From 1821 to 1825 the Burmese became the masters of the whole of Assam with Jogeswar Simha as a puppet on the throne[1]. The Burmese then let loose a reign of terror and inflicted untold misery on the innocent citizens[2]. After their success in Assam the Burmese indulged in acts of provocation and aggression in the adjoining territories of the East India Company, which in return gave a crushing blow to the Burmese, leading finally to the Treaty of Yandabo, made on February 24, 1826 and the annexation of Assam to the territory under British rule.

As a result of Burmese atrocities thousands died and thousands of families fled to the Surma Valley and the British territory in Goalpara and adjoining districts of Bengal. Many areas in Assam like Dabaka and the Kapili Valley were practically depopulated. Many families had to pass fearful days in the forests[3]. With the restoration of peace and order under the British Commissioners many uprooted families returned, but they took around twenty years to resettle. In many cases those who belonged to Upper Assam now became permanent settlers of Lower Assam[4].

Anundoram's father was holding a high post in the Ahom Court as a Majinder Barua. The Burmese took him a captive. By intelligent manoeuvers he escaped from the bondage. In recognition

of his intelligence the Burmese also gave him a high office with the appellation Barua. Also during the British rule he got the job of a Sadar Amin, equivalent to a modern Deputy Magistrate. In this way Anundorm had the proper family background to become a member of the I.C.S. But otherwise the social conditions were not at all encouraging.

The first English School was esablished at Guwahati in 1835. It was then called the Gowhatty Seminary. The Second school was established at Sibsagar in 1841. There were only two high schools upto 1873. In 1873-74, however, there were six high schools all over Assam[5]. But yet the progress was very slow. Progress was thwarted by a major event in the form of the replacement of the local Assamese language by Bengali in the schools and courts of Assam in 1836. After a good deal of agitation, representation and controversies, Assamese got finally reinstated in its rightful place as late as in 1873. The standard of teaching in the Gowhatty Seminary was not satisfactory. The discouraging state of affairs may perhaps be made out from the following extract :

"Soon it proved extremely difficult to the young pupils to learn English both as a subject and as a medium of instruction which resulted in rapid fall in the enrolment of the English classes. It dwindled to such an extent, (33 in a school of 192, at Gauhati) - that in 1844, the Government of Bengal[6] thought it desirable to make English optional[7] and in consequence, the English schools at Gauhati and Sibsagar were converted for a time to Anglo-Bengali schools. The remedy, however, proved no better than the disease; Bengali might have been the language of the courts, but it was not the vernacular of the mass of the students"[8].

When this was the situation in Assam, Captain Jenkins, the Commissioner of Assam (1834-61) and Lieut. James Matthie, the Deputy Commissioner at Guwahati, advised Anandaram Dhekial Phukan, another promising son of Assam, to go to Calcutta for better education. Accordingly Anandaram Dhekial Phukan left for Calcutta in 1841 as a boy of twelve by a country boat and the trip took him 25 days to reach his destination. In those days one letter took a minimum of 12 days to reach Guwahati from Calcutta. Communication was extremely poor. The inhabitants of Guwahati saw a steamer for the first time in 1846[9]. A regular steamer service was introduced in 1861. The first few kilometers of railway were laid as late as in 1882 and the trunk railway line was completed as late as in 1905[10]. Dhekial Phukan came back from

Calcutta in January 1845. He would have taken two more years to pass the Junior Scholarship Examination, equivalent to Matriculation/ School Final Examination of today. In those days there was such a dearth of educated men that hundreds of people gathered at the ghat to receive Dhekial Phukan[11]. Even with that much of schooling Dhekial Phukan got the job of a Sub-Asst. Commissioner and rose even to higher positions. It must be admitted that conditions were such that even a boy of Dhekial Phukan's calibre could not receive any higher education worth the name. We shall have to evaluate Anundoram Borooah's achievements against this background.

*Early Education of Anundoram Borooah*

Anundoram's father Gargaram Sadar Amin had two wives. He had four sons from he first wife and another three from the second. Anundorm was the third son of the first wife Durlabheswari. From his childhood Anundoram started learning Sanskrit at home under Haragovinda Sharma, who was also the family priest engaged for the daily worship of the domestic deities. Subsequently another home-teacher Kalikanta Sharma taught him grammar[12]. Subsequently he studied for some time in the village primary school. In 1861-62 Anundoram was studying in the Goalpara school as he was living with his father who was holding a transferable job. When the latter retired from the government service in 1863 Anundoram came to stay with his eldest brother Parashuram and got admitted to the Gowhatti Govt. Seminary. Parashuram was an Agent of the Steamer Company. The immediate elder brother Janakairam was a second teacher of the Gowhatti Seminary, but died prematurely in 1860.

The University of Calcutta was established in 1857 (24th January) and the Entrance examination was introduced from that time. In 1858 the Guwahati school was affiliated to the Entrance standard of Calcutta University and three years later, in 1861, two students for the first time passed the Entrance examination from this school[13]. No one came out successful in 1862 and 1863. Then in 1864 a sensation was created by the success of as many as four students, viz., Anundoram Borooah, Zalnur Ali Ahmed[14], Sivaram Borah[15] and Madahab Chandra Bordoloi[16]. But Anundoram, who was destined to achieve distinction as a very brilliant student in the subsequent examinations, got only a second division in the

Entrance examination. It was perhaps because he did not have the advantage of learning through the medium of his mother tongue[17]. Or, it was presumably because of the lack of an example before him. This may be borne out by the following observation of William Robinson, the then Inspector of Schools:

"The boys of Assam are by no means inferior to those of Bengal, they labour under certain disadvantages, no opportunity of intercourse with Europeans or even natives of superior mental culture, and hence they have no high intellectual standard to which they may aspire"[18].

Chandramohan Goswami, Deputy Inspector of Schools, who was also a successful teacher of those days and who, by virture of being a friend of his eldest brother Parashuram, gave private coaching to Anundoram, commenting on his later success, said that Anundoram did not have an inborn talent, but he was extremely laborious. This reminds us of Daṇḍin's celebrated lines:

na vidyate yadyapi pūrvavāsanā
guṇānubandhi pratibhānam adbhutam.
śrutena yatnena ca vāg upāsitā
dhruvaṁ karotyeva kamapyanugraham:

(*Kāvyādarśa*, 1.104)

[Even if there is no uncommon inherent talent, yet the goddess of learning would surely show some favour if she is worshipped with the acts of learning and labour.]

## *Anundoram as a Student in Calcutta*

After passing the Entrance Examination in 1864 Anundoram read for the First Arts examination (then called the L.A. Exam.)[19] in the Presidency College of Calcutta. There he had as his teachers the great educationists, Pandit (later Mahamahopadhyaya) Mahesh Chandra Nyayaratna in Sanskrit and Sir (then Mr.) Gooroo Das Banerjee in Mathematics. Anundoram had as his classmates such brilliant students like Romesh Chunder Dutt (later I.C.S.), Bihari Lal Gupta (later I.C.S.), Kartick Chandra Mitra (later M.A., P.R.S.), Trailokyanath Bose (later on a leader of the Dacca Bar) and his contemporary college friends Syed Ameer Ali, (Sir) Surendranath Banerjea and the celebrated Bengali poet Nabin Chandra Sen. Now that Anundoram had the proper training, inspiring examples and high ideals before him, the situation

ignited the spirit of competition and with his usual diligence, he started doing very well. Sir Gooroo Das Banerjee, who later on became the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, wrote in a letter (dtd. January 24, 1912) to Dr. S. K. Bhuyan :

"I became acquainted with Mr. Anundoram Borooah as a first year student of the Presidency College in 1865... He was very modest and unassuming and he did his work in the class remarkably well. There was no problem in Mathematics, simple or difficult, set by me in the class, which Mr. Borooah failed to solve. He was quick in arriving at his solutions and they were generally simple and ingenious. The first year class in the Presidency College that year was a splendid class, containng many very brilliant students, ... and Mr. Borooah was unquestionably the brightest of this bright band of young students. It is worthy of note that his class-fellows never grudged to admit his superior merit ..."[20].

Anundoram stood sixth in the First Class in the L.A. Examination held in Dec. 1866. He secured the Duff Schoarship with the highest marks in Mathematics. The position of some of his outstanding classmates were as follows : Kartick Chandra, first ; Romesh Chunder, second ; J. Blockman, third ; and Bihari Lal Gupta, thirteenth. In January 1869 Anundoram stood third in the First Class in the B. A Examination of Caslcutta University. Kartick Chandra again stood first and Trailokyanath Basu came second.

Satyendranath Tagore, the elder brother of Rabindra Nath Tagore, was the first Indian to pass the competitive I.C.S. Examination in 1864. After completion of his training he came back to India in 1867[21]. This was a very inspiring example. Surendranath Banerjea, who had already passed the B.A. Examination in 1868, prepared to go to England the same year with a view to competing for the I.C.S. Romesh Chunder Dutt and Bihari Lal Gupta, who were yet to appear in the B.A. Examination, also accompanied Surendranath with the same purpose, without due permission from their respective homes. Anundoram preferred not to be in a hurry, and this decision paid him a good dividend. In 1868 the government decided to offer a State Scholarship for higher studies in the U.K. to one who could come first in a competitive examination to be held immediately after the B.A. Examination. In January 1869 Anundoram appeared at this examination. Kartick Chandra Mitra, who had stood First in both the L.A. and the B.A. Examinations, Lalmohan Das, who

later on became very famous as an Advocate of the Calcutta High Court and Syed Ameer Ali, the first Indian Privy Councillor[22], were some of the formidable competitors. Yet Anundoram could do it : he secured the State Overseas Scholarship of £ 200/- a year tenable for 3 years and also another scholarship called Gilchrist Scholarship of £ 100/- a year tenable for 5 years, through open competition. Depending solely on these scholarships Anundoram left for England in the spring of 1869 with Mr. H. Woodrow, M.A., 'sometime D.P.I. of Bengal, who had taken a kindly interest in this young prodigy from Assam, and had introduced him to Lord Mayo, the then Viceroy and Governor General of India'[23].

## *Anundoram in England*

Reaching England Anundoram joined one of the Civil Service coaching institutions in London, studied Science in London University and Law in the Middle Temple simultaneously. He passed the I.C.S. Examination in 1870 and was called to the Bar in the subsequent year. Most probably due to his preoccupation with the preparations for the I.C.S. Final Examination he could not sit for the B.Sc. Examination of London University.

Out of 369 competitors in the I.C.S. Examination in April, 1870, only 41 were selected. Anundoram secured the 38th position with highest marks in Sanskrit and fourth highest marks in Mathematics. In the final I.C.S. Examination in 1872 he secured the seventh position. This was a spectacular improvement. Appearing in a special examination in Sanskrit he secured a prize of £ 70/- and secured £ 30/-each for doing well in Bengali, Sanskrit and History-Geography. The glorious trio Surendranath, Bihari Lal and Romesh Chunder had already passed the First and Final I.C.S. Examinations one year ahead of Anundoram. Thus Anundorm is reckoned as the fifth Indian civilian[24], Satyendranath Tagore having been the first.

For being recruited to the Indian Civil Service a candidate was required to be successful in two different examinations. The first of these two was called the Open Competition. After securing a higher position in this examination one could appear, after another two years, in what used to be called the Final Examination. Only those who could come out successful in the Final Examination were picked out for being appointed as civilians in order of merit. This is how the seniority of service of a certain selected candidate

depended on his position in the merit list of the Final Examination of the concerned year[25].

The I.C.S Examinations were extremely difficult and were more so for the Indian competitors. This may be warranted by a few extracts from a letter that Romesh Chunder Dutt wrote from England to his elder brother in India.

"We attended classes of the London University colleges and also took private lessons from some of the Professors of the college[26]...At last the time for the Open Competition arrived. It was impossible to form any sort of conjecture what the result in our case would be, for over three hundred English students appeared in the examination, and the first fifty would be selected ...[27].

"The examination, one of the stiffest in the world, lasted for a month or more. The subjects are various, but no one is compelled to take all subjects or any particular subject ; each candidate takes what subjects he pleases, and candidates are judged by the aggregate marks they obtain in the subjects they take up. I had taken only five subjects - i.e., English (including History and Composition), Mathematics, Mental Philosophy, Natural Philosophy and Sanskrit[28].

..."I scored 430 out of 500 in Sanskrit. But there we are at a disadvantage as compared with English students. For they take up Latin and Greek - the full marks in those subjects are 1500 - and English students easily get more marks in those subjects than we can possibly do in Sanskrit"[29].

In another letter to his elder brother Romesh Chunder Dutt wrote again :

"I have now done my three years' work in England - I have gone through the four 'further examinations' which we have to pass in Law, Political Economy, and History and Languages of India, after being selected at the Open Competition"[30].

Suryya Kumar Bhuyan, the author of the most valuable biography of Anundoram Borooah[31], was in London from 1936 to 1938 working for his Ph. D. in the London School of Oriental and Afrikan Studies. Bhuyan took this opportunity to consult in the India Office Library the documents and records relating to the performance of Anundoram in the I.C.S. Examination[32]. The information thus gathered has been provided in the third edition of the said biography in 1955. Some of the more interesting facts and

figures may be reproduced as follows :

The Open Competition in which Anundoram appeared commenced on April 5, 1870. There were 369 candidates in all, out of which only 41 were selected. Borooah secured the 38th position. He, however, had the distinction of securing the highest marks[33] in Sanskrit. The second and third positions were secured by Donald Brook Sinclair[34] and David Addis[35] respectively. The paper-setter and examiner in Sanskrit was E.B. Cowell. In Mathematics Borooah secured the fourth place with 836 out of 1250, while the marks for higher positions were 976, 933 and 843 respectively.

In English essay Borooah secured only 39 out of 500. But that was comparatively quite a good mark, because even some of the English students securing higher positions in the merit list got less than the mark obtained by Borooah. Thus, for example, the thirteenth in the merit list secured only 35, the twentythird zero, the thirtieth zero, and the thirtythird 8. the Examiners were Matthew Arnold and W. Stebbing.

The Final Examination for I.C.S. in which Borooah appeared was held in May 1872. This time the marks obtained by Borooah were as follows : Law-733/1750, Indian History and Geography-280/350, Economics-206/350, Hindi-184/400, Hindustani-219/400, Bengali-364/400, Sanskrit-454/500.

That Anundoram could make such a high jump from the 38th position of the Open Competition merit list to the 7th position of the Final Examination ranking must be admitted as an achievement if we compare the improvements made by some other notable candidates. This may be warranted by the following table :

| Name of candidate | Year of Competition | Position ;Open Competition | Position in Final Exam. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Romesh Chunder Dutt | 1869-71 | 3rd | 2nd |
| Bihari Lal Gupta | 1869-71 | 14th | 4th |
| Surendranath Banerjea | 1869-71 | 28th | 20th |
| Vincent Smith | 1869-71 | 2nd | 1st |
| Charls Randal Merindin | 1870-72 | 28th | 31st |
| George Abraham Grierson | 1871-73 | 28th | 12th |
| Herbert Hope Rizley | 1871-73 | 34th | 8th |
| Bamfield Fooler | 1873-75 | 11th | 1st |
| J.D.Anderson | 1873-75 | 27th | 34th |
| Anundoram | 1870-72 | 38th | 7th |

Surendranath Banerjea had some difficulty about his age so far as his admission to the Civil Service was concerned. Sripad Babaji Thakur of Bombay and Anundoram Borooah also had similar difficulties. Surendranath took the help of the court and won. Because of this and particularly through the intervention of Mr. Grant Duff, the then Under-Secretary for India in London, Anundoram could overcome this hurdle. In his autobiography, *A Notation in Making* Surendranath Banerjea refers to Anundoram and his age problem as follows :

"Among the Indian candidates who competed with us for the Indian Civil Service in 1869 was another remarkable man whose early death deprived the world of a Sanskrit scholar of great promise - I mean Anandaram Barua. In regard to him also there was the difficulty about the age to which I have referred; but, the point having been settled in my case, it was no longer raised in his. He came from Assam and distinguished himself at the examinations of the Calcutta University. Having obtained a State scholarship, he went to England to compete for the Indian Civil Service. He secured a place for himself among the successful candidates in 1870. As a member of the Indian Civil Service he combined the duties of an administrator with extraordinary devotion to literature... He was a case of blighted promise which in its fruition would have enriched the world of letters"[36].

Because of the age tangle Sripad Babaji Thakur had to appear in the I.C.S. Final Examination in 1872 along with Anundoram[37]. And it may be pointed out in this connection that in respect of the controversy of Anundoram's age there is an interesting episode. Mr. Alec Macmillan, M.A.,I.C.S. (Retd) was the author of an anthology of verses called *Divers Ditties, Chiefly Written in India*, where the first poem is entitled 'Anundoram Borooah', and it is a pretty long poem. Here we have a very humorous reference to the age disqualification of Anundoram as follows :

You know, my Nundy, tattlers say,
That ere you passed the other day,
You played a horoscopic hoax
On our good easy English folks,
By dropping out an awakward year
In counting up your age's sum,
(The evil-speaking "Pioneer"
Thus libelleth Anundoram)[38]

By nature Anundoram was always extremely reserved and uncommunicative. In England also he used to live a secluded life.

He never indulged in frivolous gaiety. His friends and associates were few. Some of them were Romesh Chunder Dutt, Sripad Babaji Thakur and Taraknath Palit, who, after being called to the Bar, had overstayed in England. Incidentally, Anundoram breathed his last in the Calcutta residence of this very friend Taraknath Palit. Another friend was Zalnur Ali Ahmed, who also hailed from Assam. Zalnur Ali was prosecuting higher studies in medicine when Anundoram was in England. Both of them used to live for some time in a vilage away from the din and bustle of the city of London for the convenience of peaceful studies. During this stay in England for three years Anundoram established contact with such great Sanskritists like Goldstücker and Max Müller[39].

## *The Civilian comes home*

Coming back from England as a Civilian Anundoram first landed in Bombay on Sept. 9, 1872. Then he spent a few days in Calcutta and then proceeded to Assam by steamer. He already opted for serving at Sibsagar, a small town in Upper Assam. Thus Sibsagar was his final destination. He broke his journey for a few days at his home town North Guwahati, situated just on the bank of the river Brahmaputra and opposite to the city of Guwahati. A tent had been pitched for his stay, because he was not supposed to enter the main dwelling without an expiation after his association with the *sahibs*[40]. His relatives greeted him affectionately with the offering of simple varieties of food prepared in their respective homes. Anundoram also brought beautiful gifts for his brothers and relatives. But he could not oblige his otherwise elated father on two counts. He could not agree to perform a *Prāyaścitta* on the plea that circumstances would always compel him to be in the association of *sahibs* and as such it would be farcical to go through the rite of a *Prāyaścitta*. He also could not agree to his father's suggestion that he should get married forthwith[41]. It is said that this gesture of Anundoram wounded his father in such a way that he passed away within a short time in 1873[42].

Anundoram attended his office for the first time on Dec. 11, 1872 as an Assistant Commissioner[43]. While at Sibsagar he used to put on the native *chaugā-chāpkan* as his dress. During this time he had started working on the project of his English-Sanskrit Dictionary. The local people were very happy with him because of his courtesy and unassuming disposition[44].

But Anundoram's stay in Sibsagar, and for that matter in the province of Assam, was for a very short time. This is generally attributed to two reasons. In both cases, it was because he was not happy with his immediate superiors of the Assam cadre. He sought a transfer to Bengal and eventually from April, 1874 he was serving in various places of Bengal alone for the rest of his life. The two incidents which are presumed to have led Borooah to seek transfer from Assam to Bengal were as follows :

(1) Colonel Campbell was the Deputy Commissioner and Anundoram and Lieut. Grey were Asst. Commissioners. Grey was junior in service to Anundoram. So, whenever the D.C. was out in *mofussil* Anundoram used to be placed in charge of the District. Once while in charge Anundoram asked for an explanation from Lieut. Grey, who took exception and expressed his resentment to his compatriot Colonel Campbell. On a subsequent occasion Borooah was not placed in charge of the District. This time, Borooah took exception and sought transfer to Bengal[45].

(2) On Feb.13, 1874 Colonel Keatinge became the first Chief Commissioner of Assam. That was the time when Assam was brought under the rule of a Chief Commissioner for the first time[46] as a separate province with headquarters at Shillong. When this Chief Commssioner visited Sibsagar for the first time a dinner party was organised in his honour under the supervision of the Police Chief of the District who was also an Englishman. Anundoram Borooah and Colonel Zalnur Ali Ahmed of the I.M.S were also invited to the party. But these two native officers were given a table separately from the table meant for all other non-native invitees. This further offended Anundoram and he took immediate transfer to Bengal in April, 1874[47].

While the aforesaid two reasons do not seem to be quite unlikely an official note of the Govt. of Bengal under the signature of Mr. Henry Hopkinson, A.G.G. & Commissioner, dated 9th July, 1873, tends to give us the impression that Borooah thought of getting transferred to Bengal from around 20th June 1873, if not earlier, for the convenience of serious studies relating to Sanskrit. The most significant line of the said report relating to this issue runs as follows:

"I think also that it would be to the benefit of the public service if Mr.Borooah were transferred from Seebsauger to Bengal, and that Assam does not afford at all suitable field for his employment"[48].

## *The Indian Civilian in Bengal*

For 15 years from 1874 to 1889 Anundoram Borooah served in various district and sub-divisional headquarters of Bengal. This period saw him as a very successful administrator and also witnessed his very fruitful enterprises as a scholar. As such, an account of his service career invariably calls for an account of his literary activities as well[49].

(1) From Apirl, 1874 he was the Asstt. Magistrate and Collector of the Mymensingh District[50]. This is the place where he made preparations for his English-Sanskrit Dictionary. He issued a prospectus regarding its anticipated publication and received advance orders for copies of the book form many persons including Clonel Northbrook, Prof. Max Müller, Major J. Saw, Civil surgeon of Gaya, Colonel Zalnur Ali Ahmed, Civil Surgeon of Naya Dumka[51], Mvi Hamiduddin Ahmed of Mymensingh, Sripad Babaji Thakur, I.C.S. of Bombay and most of the pleaders and govt. officers of Mymensingh.

(2) Next he got transferred to Dinajpur and (3) in 1877 he became an Asst. Magistrate at Burdwan. The first volume of his Dictinory was Published in May 1877. (4) Then he became the S.D.O. of Ranigunge, which is associated with the publication of the *Mahāvīra-carita* in Sept.1877. (5) *A Companion to the Sanskrit Reading Undergraduates* was issued in Nov. 1877 from a place called Bishnupur near the Ajay. Bishnupur seems to have been a *mofussil* . (6) Next he became the S.D.O. of Katowa, and then of (7) Khulna. The critical work on *Bhavabhuti* was issued from Khulna in February 1878. (8) The *Higher Sanskrit Grammar* is associated with a smaller place called Jahanabad. (9) The second volume of the Dictionary was issued form Goalpara in Oct. 1878. (10) In June 1879 he was the Joint Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Dinajpur. From this place the third volume of the Dictionary was issued. (11) In 1880 he was acting as a Dist. Magistrate and Collector temporarily for a few months in the same place. (12) From May 1881 to August 1881 he availed of earned leave for three months for doing the spade work for his projected *Comprehensive Grammar* of the Sanskrit language. He first stayed for a few days with his friend Taraknath Palit and then shifted to house at Bagbazar in Calcutta. In this Bagbazar house he got his own printing press established. The press was named 'Maniram Yantra' after his late lamented younger brother Maniram. Through

his old friend Bihari Lal Gupta he also purchased another big house at Behrampur and got another printing press established there. this press was called 'Arunoday Yantra'. It is significant that 'Arunoday' was the name of the first Assamese Newspaper started and run by the American Baptist Missionaries from 1846 to 1882. (13) Anundoram realised that the execution of his literary projects would require more time and more undivided attention. So, he took two years' furlough from Nov. 1881 to Nov. 1883. In October 1882 he was in India as evidenced by his preface to the *Prosody*. In December, 1882 he was at Benaras, as warranted by the Preface to the *Kāvyālaṁkārasūtra* . The frequency of the publication of books and his visit to Benaras shows that he was now frantically busy with his literary endeavours. (14) From the Preface to his *Nānārthasaṁgraha* we learn that in June 1883, he was in London, and the manner in which he utilised this visit to London may be gathered from the following concluding lines of the said Preface :

" I have the pleasant duty of expressing my obligations to Mr. Bendall[52], the keeper of Oriental books in the British Museum, to Mr. Nicholson, the Bodleian librarian at Oxford, and specially to Dr. Reinhold Rost, the learned and obliging librarian of the India Office, who has taken the greatest interest in my labours and has always warmly assisted me both by lending and finding out manuscripts and books for me".

(15) From a postscript to the Preface to *Nānārthasaṁgraha* it may be gathered that in December 1883 Anundoram was again in India. This time he was the Jt. Magistrate and Deputy Collector of Chittagog (16) In January, 1884 he was in Jessore, the place from which the second edition of the *Saraswatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* has been issued . (17) In May 1884 he came to Noakhali as the District Magistrate. (18) In April 1885 Anundoram Borooah was appointed Fellow of Calcutta University, and was attached to the Faculty of Arts. (19) In October, 1885 Borooah was transferred to Tipperah. (20) In February, 1886 he became the Distt. Magistrate of Bogra. (21) For the convenience of serious studies again he availed of three months' earned leave from December, 1886 to March, 1887. At the expiry of this leave he again came to Noakhali as the District Magistrate and remained in this post till he breathed his last.

It is significant that though Anundoram belonged to the I.C.S. he gave his identity in the title page of the *Prosody* as " of Her Majesty's Bengal Civil Service and of the Middle Temple Barrister-at-Law"[53]. in the Preface to the first volume of his *A History of Civilisation in Ancient India* Romesh Chunder Dutt

refers to him as 'Mr. Anand Ram Borooah, of the Bengal Civil Service'. Romesh Chunder himself is also referred to as 'one of the few native members of the Bengal Civil Service' in a review of his *Peasantry of Bengal* (pub.1875) in *The Examiner*, dtd. 25.9.1875[54]. On the other hand, V.A. Smith, who did his I.C.S. in the same year as that of Romesh Chunder Dutt, in his *Early History of India* , gives his name as 'Vincent A Smith, Late of the Indian Civil Service'[55]. S. M. Edwardes, who revised the 4th edition of the said book also gives the appellation 'Late of the Indian Civil Service' after his own name[56]. Hence, the fact that Borooah never referred to himself as of I.C.S. might tend to give the impression that he was a Civilian of an inferior order. Under this circumstance it may be suggested that the appellation 'Bengal Civil Service' was, in fact, not meant to minimise the stature of Borooah as a Civilian, and it was only to imply that the Civilian concerned was strictly confined only to the Bengal cadre even while belonging to the I.C.S. Perhaps the practice was that as soon as one chose to be posted anywhere in India one came to be recognised as belonging to I.C.S. This may be warranted by the following evidences culled from the autobiography of Surendranath Banerjea, *A Nation in Making* : (1) "Satyendra Nath Tagore was the first Indian Civilian. We were the second batch. Satyendra Nath Tagore was a Bombay Civilian. We had been appointed to the Bengal Presidency,... I was posted to Sylhet as Assistant Magistrate and joined my appointment on November 22, 1871". (p, 26f). (2) With reference to Romesh Chunder and Bihari Lal Gupta, Banerjea once says : "They were pioneers in the hitherto untrodden path of Indians entering the Bengal Civil Service" (p. 19). (3) At p. 72 Bihari Lal Gupta is referred to as 'Mr B.L. Gupta of the Bengal Civil Service, who was then Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta'. This was Bihari Lal's position in c. 1883. (4) At p.82 it is said about Bihari Lal that he later became an officiating Judge of a High Court in British India and Prime Minister in an Indian State. (5) While referring to the 1894 madras Congress Banerjea describes Bihari Lal Gupta as 'of the Indian Civil Service'. (p. 137). Thus, we may conclude that Anundoram consistently introduced himself as one belonging to the Bengal Civil Service perhaps because he preferred to be confined to the Bengal Cadre alone. This Preference was also presumably due to the following reasons:

Borooah was in Bengal Civil Service for a little more than 14 years. During this period he got transferred to at least 14 different

places of Bengal. Sometimes in a certain place the duration of service would have been just for a few months. For instance, he was transferred to Tipperah in Oct. '85 and then to Bogra in Feb.'86. Thus he could stay in Tipperah only for four months or so. These frequent transfers must have been a great impediment to the studies which Borooah was committed to carry on. Had he been in the All-India Cadre the dislocation due to frequent transfers to far distant places would have been much greater. Moreover, the academic atmosphere in Bengal and particularly in Calcutta was perhaps much more suitable for the type of Sanskrit research carried on by Borooah than in any other part of India. The type of assistance received from the traditional pandits of Bengal was presumably the most preferable for him. Moreover as a student he happened to be on his mettle only when he came to Calcutta. Borooach might have had a special attraction for Calcutta and for that matter for Bengal as the place connected with the achievements of the formative stage of his life.

*Achievements as a Civilian*

Anundoram Borooah served as an Asst. Magistrate in several places in Bengal. After a prolonged agitation, which had Sir William Hunter as its great patron and supporter, Indian Civilians were first entrusted with temporary charge of districts, and when, as expected, they could prove their mettle they were eventually appointed Distt. Magistrates and Collectors on a regular basis. J.N. Gupta, who was himself a Civilian and a son-in-law of Romesh Chunder Dutt, presents the following important note on the process of the said elevation of the Indian Civilians :

"... But the experiment was tried, and a native of India was for the first time placed in executive charge of a district. Mr. A. Baruah officiated as Magistrate and Collector in Dinajpur for a few months in 1880, Mr. B.L. Gupta acted as Magistrate and Collector of Rangpur for a month in 1881, and Mr. R.C. Dutt officiated as Magistrate and Collector of Bankura for three months in 1881, and again as Magistrate and Collector of Balasore for three months in 1882. After this, in December 1882, Government in their official letter approved of Mr. Dutt's and Mr. Baruah's election of the executive line, and thus formally opend the appointment of District Officer to natives of India"[57]. Thus it appears that although he was the fifth Indian Civilian yet Anundoram Borooah happened to be the first Indian to be the administrative head of the entire

district[58].But in the matter of an Indian being placed in charge of a district there is also an interesting but somewhat conflicting earlier record, and I am afraid, similar instances might be cited from other parts of India as well.

Ananda Ram Dhekial Phukan joined as a Sub-Asstt. Commissioner at Barpeta in Assam on 9.10.1852, and his pay was Rs. 250/- per month. In 1854 he came to Nagoan as a Sub-Asstt. Commissioner. At that time the post of a Junior Assistant was lying vacant. Hence he was the second man in the District headquarters. He was temporarily in charge of the whole district when Capt. Butler the Principal Asst. was transferred to Guwahati. In the following month Dhekial Phukan became a Junior Asst. Again in 1855 and 1858 he was put in-charge of the whole district. But yet Dhekial Phukan was basically a Junior Asst. with a lower pay. In 1857 his pay was Rs. 350/- (Rupees three hundred fifty only)[59]. By the time of Anundoram the designations changed. The status and the relative superiority of the concerned posts may be understood from the following equation:

"In 1861 the designations of the officers serving under the Commissioner were changed;... the Principal Assistants became Deputy Commissioners; the Junior Assistants, Assistant Commissioners and the Sub-Assistants, Extra Assiatant Commissioners"[60].

Thus Dhekial Phukan started his career as a Sub-Asst. or what may be called an E.A.C. He was the first Assamese to get such a high post. Subsequently he became a Junior Asstt. or what may be called an Asst. Commissioner. On the other hand, Anundoram started his career as an Asstt. Commissioner in 1872 at Sibsagar. He was not called a Junior Asstt., because of the change of designations. In Bengal, the designations were always somewhat different. Hence, the Asst. Commissioner of Sibsagar became the Asst. Magistrate and Collector of Mymensingh in the same rank. When Anundoram succeeded Mr. Cook, an English Civilian, as the Distt. Magistrate of Noakhali his rank became equal to that of what is called a Deputy Commissioner in Assam. In 1887 Anundoram as a District Magistrate used to get a basic pay of Rs. 900/- and allowances amounting to Rs. 400/-.

*Anundoram Borooah at Noakhali*

For the last phase of his short life Anundoram was at Noakhali. An idea regarding his greatness as an administrator and

as a man may perhaps be formed by a reappraisal of his affairs at Noakhali. As Dr. Bhuyan says, "...there, by his learning, benevolence, sympathetic treatment of the people, and various acts of public utility Mr. Borooah won the heart of the people"[61]. Noakhali was the Dist. headquarters and Pheni was a Sub-divisional town. The railway line was available up to Pheni. The citizens of the district and particularly of the Noakhali town paid him an ovation just when he got down at Pheni. An address entitled *Āvāhana* (Welcome), in 21 Bengali stanzas, each containing six lines, was presented to him. The address was supposed to have ben presented by Noakhali, personified as a wretched lady with her children quarrelling with one another. Noakhali personified says:

ānander śubha āgamane
pūlake purila man saphal haila jīvan
heriye ānandamay ānanda-ānane
kintu āmi abhāginī, kata ye pāpe pāpinī
tuṣite nārinu tāre priya sambhāṣaṇe
yathocit samādare param yatane.

"On the auspicious arrival of Ananda[62], the mind is thrilled with joy, the purpose of life is fulfilled by looking at the joyful visage of Ananda. But I am a wretched one, full of sins, and I am not in a position to please him with greetings and adequate care and cordiality."

Noakhali was already aware of Anundoram's scholarship. She greets him with appreciation and says:

kata yaś śunechi tomār
yathā amar nikare jaladhi manthan kare
labhila pīyūṣarāśi saṁsārer sār;
tumi dev kare yatna upārjjile vidyāratna,
kata kaste utariye sāgar apār,
sudhākar sama sudhā karicha bistār.

"Oh, we have heard so much about your fame. Like the gods receiving the nectar, the cream of life, by churning the ocean, you have acquired the jewel of learning with great effort by crossing over the shoreless seas. Like the moon, the repository of ambrosia, you are now distributing the ambrosia of knowledge"[63].

In response, Anundoram did a lot for Noakhali. For instance, Noakhali now had the advantage of a regular steamer communication with Barisal. When the steamer came to Noakhali

for the first time it was greeted with the sounds of bell and conchshell and the offfering of a *pūjā*. Now sweepers were brought from Bihar for a better sanitary arrangement of the Noakhali town. Lands were classified for fixing different rates of revenue to the best advantage of the rate payers. Regular steamer service was introduced between Noakhali and the marine islands of Hatia and Sandwip. The steamer company was reluctant to run this service. Borooah offered to pay a subsidy if necessary. This was a great relief for the common people who were earlier compelled to make very risky trips to the islands. It was a day of great festivity when the maiden trip was made from Noakhali to Sandwip. Anundoram himself became a passenger with all his subordinates and associates and paid for the passage of all concerned. A market was established at Dollai Pargana of Comilla and a tank was dug for providing drinking water. These were subsequently known as Barua Bazar and Barua Dighi[64]. Many old tanks were renovated for providing drinking water. Since there was no railway station at Noakhali, letters took long to reach the town. At the instance of Borooah a telegraph office was established at Noakhali. For the economic upliftment of the people Borooah proposed to start a co-operative of the citizens of Noakhali with a view to developing commercial intercourse with U.K. and U.S.A. with an initial fund of 2 to 3 lacs of rupees. This plan, however, did not materialise due to lack of proper response from the persons concerned.

While at Noakhali, Borooah busied himself most vigorously with the work of a projected twelve volume Comprehensive Grammar of the Sanskrit Language[65]. Apart from this it was also in his contemplation to take in hand the compilation of a Comprehensive Dictionary of all the dialects of Bengal. Such an idea came to his mind presumably because he had the experience of serving in more than a dozen places of Bengal, all belonging to different dialectal zones, and presumably more particularly because of serving in Chittagong, the dialect whereof, though called a dialect of Bengali language, is totally unintelligible to the people of West Bengal[66].

Anundoram Borooah also established a school for girls known as Jubilee Girls'\School. Pandit Annadacharan Tarakchudamani was made the first Head Master of this school. As stated by himself, Annadacharan was twentyfive years old at that time and he was one of the members of the Pandita Sabha[67] maintained by Borooah[68]. This act of founding a girls' school

assumes greater significance when we take note of the fact that against tremendous resistence female education had been introduced in Bengal with the establishment of the Calcutta Female School on May 7, 1849 by Sir John Eliot Drinkwater Bethune. It was a great social revolution in which the greatest co-operation was received from an otherwise quite unexpected quarter, i.e., from two traditional Sanskrit scholars, Madan Mohan Tarkalamkara and Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. Vidyasagar was so enthusiastic about it that he was made the Honorary Secretary of Bethune's Girls' School in December 1850[69]. For Vidyasagar female education became life's mission and the possibility of an impact of this very ideal on Borooah's interest in the girls' school cannot be ruled out.

*Anundoram Borooah's Last Days*

In December 1888 Borooah had a sudden attack of paralysis. With the advise of the well-meaning local physicians he even took a sea bath at the Sandwip island. But this had rather an adverse effect. The whole of his right side became totally paralysed. He took 2 month's earned leave with effect from January 2, 1889 and came to Calcutta and stayed in the residence of his old friend Taraknath Palit. This very residence now houses the Calcutta University Science College in South Calcutta. Most illustrious allopathists, homoeopaths and Ayurvedic physicians of Calcutta did their best to cure him. But yet the disaster seemed to be imminent. Taraknath proposed that Borooah should execute a will. Borooah perhaps cherished a hope of recovery and hence did not agree to this proposal. Taraknath then frantically tried to find out a relative of Borooah and finally could contact one at Guwahati telegraphically, who on his part instructed his son Ratnadhar, who was then studying in Calcutta, to do the needful. As things took a trurn for the worse Anundoram agreed to execute the will. Taraknath brought in High Court Attorney N.C. Bose for the purpose. It was the penultimate day. But Borooah became so emotional with tears in his eyes that they had to postpone the execution of the will till the following morning. But on the following day Borooah's condition became more critical. On that day the local students came in a batch and offered to nurse him. Borooah politely said that he had never done anything for them, as such he had no moral right to ask them to do anything. It was their own goodness to show this gesture. All this happened in the morning, and the same afternoon, i. e., on January 19, 1889,

Anundoram breathed his last.

As the sad news spread like a prairie fire, people belonging to all communities gathered at the residence of Taraknath Palit to pay homage to the departed soul. One amongst them removed the shroud from the face of Anundoram and said- "Here lies the glory of Bengal in his eternal sleep". One Assamese youth retorted, "He is not the glory of Bengal. He is the glory of Assam, now lying in eternal sleep". At this stage a dignified Bengali gentleman brought an end to the controversy by saying, "No, here is a great man, a glory of India, now lying in his eternal sleep"[70].

*Footnotes:*

1. S.K. Bhuyan, *Tuṅkhuṅgīyā Burāñjī* pp. 196-207.
2. "The Burmese fortune hunters knew very well that their occupation of Assam was bound to be abortive and shortlived and so they made the best use of their stay by the gratification of their animal appetites. Virgins were deflowered before their parents and wives before their husbands; infants served as throw-sticks to drop down mangoes from trees; all property and belongings had to be surrendered unconditionally and spontaneously on pain of mutilation or death; and rights and records of property were thrown into wells and rivers to efface any titles thereto. The sword and all other instruments of lust were used without any scruple or restraint." *Ibid*, p. 207.
3. Manik Chandra Barua's father was named Habiram because he was born at a time when his parents had been taking shelter in a forest due to Burmese atrocities. Vide P. Goswami, *Mānik Chandra Baruwā*, p. 2. In Assamese *hābi* means forest.
4. Kumud Chandra Bordoloi (ed.), *Sadarāminar Ātmajīvanī*, pp. 1-8.
5. H.K. Barpujari,*Golden Jubilee Volume, Cotton College*, p. 13.
6. Assam was under the Govt. of Bengal upto 1874.
7. *Report on Education*, Bengal, 1844; Vide Appendix V, Cecil Beadon to Jenkins.
8. H.K. Barpujari,*op.cit.*, p. 11.
9. Gunabhiram Barua, *Ānandarām Dhekīāl Phukanar Jīvan Charitra*, p. 72; S.K. Bhuyan, *Ānandarām Baruwā*, p. 66.
10. Nanda Talukdar, *Sambādpatrar Ro'd Kācalit Asamīyā Sāhitya*, p. 194ff.
11. Gunabhiram Barua, *op. cit.*, p. 47
12. Learning of Sanskrit from domestic teachers at the very initial stage of the child's education seems to have been the general practice. (1) In 1834 at the age of five Dhekial Phukan had his *Vidyārambha* (i.e., ceremonial initiation into the alphabet), and started learning Sanskrit

under Yoshodhara Adhyapaka. In course of a few years he started reading the *Ratnamālā Vyākaraṇa* and the *Mugdhabodha Vyākaraṇa*. (Ibid, p. 28). (2) In 1837 Harakanta Sadar Amin's son Gaurikanta, little before his *upanayana* (i.e., investiture with the sacred thread), started learning *śabda* and *sandhi* under Kanurama Sharma Purohita, who was also a priest. (Vide Kumud Chandra Bordoloi ed., *Sadarāminar Ātmajīvanī*, p. 25). (3) Habiram made arrangement for a domestic Sanskrit education for his eldest son Devanath. (See P. Goswami, *Mānik Chandra Baruwā*, p. 2)

13. I gathered from the late Prof. Nanda Talukdar that their names were Lilamay Das and Kamakhya Das.
14. Z.A. Ahmed had his higher education in Medicine in England. Later on he became Colonel Ahmed. He was the father of F.A. Ahmed, the fifth President (Rashtrapati) of India.
15. Later on Colonel Bora (1847-1907). He also had his higher education in Medicine in England, and served as Military Surgeon in Naga Hills and Civil Surgeon at Sibsagar, etc. etc.
16. Later on Rai Bahadur. Served as a teacher, practised as a Lawyer and again served as an Extra Asstt. Commissioner and as a Deputy Magistrate. He died in 1907. He was the father of Karmavir Nabin Chandra Bordoloi, an Assamese associate of Mahatma Gandhi.
17. "Difficulties arising out of a foreign medium contributed in no less degree to the failure of a large number of candidates ... what was worse, even the recognized vernacular in Assam was not the mother tongue of the students but a foreign language ..." (H.K. Barpujari, *Golden Jubilee Volume, Cotton College*, p.17). See also Binoy Ghosh, *Bāṅglār Vidvatsamāj*, p. 201f.
18. H.K. Barpujari, *op.cit.*, p. 26. Anundoram Borooah's junior contemporary Bolinarayan Borrah, who also secured a Gilchrist scholarship and went to England for studies in Engineering, wrote in the *'Mow'* about the standard of education obtaining in Assam in this vein: "The education which they receive in the schools of Assam, before proceeding to Calcutta, is so faulty and of such a baneful system, that at first, and for a long time, they find the college lectures in Calcutta hard to follow, and their fellow students to be superior in achievements and abilities, if not in diligence and intelligence." - Quoted from I.N. Borra, *Bolinarayan Borrah*, p. 13, Calcutta, 1967.
19. Comparable to I.A. (Intermediate Arts), P.U. (Pre-University), P.D. (Pre-Degree) and H.S.S.L.C.(Higher Secondary School Leaving Certificate) examinations of subsequent days.
20. S.K. Bhuyan, *Ānandarām Baruwā*, p. 185

21. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography* (ed. S.P. Sen, Institute of Historical Studies, Calcutta, 1974). Satyendranath Tagore (1842-1923) left for England in 1862, passed the I.C.S. Examination in 1863 and was recruited to the Indian Civil Service in 1864 and posted to Bombay Presidency the same year. He retired from service in 1897. In *A Nation in Making* (p. 26) S.N. Banerjea says : "Satyendranath Tagore was the first Indian Civilian. We were the second batch. Satyendranath Tagore was a Bombay Civilian."
22. "Privy Council, in Britain a Council advising the king-privy because its advice is given secretly and its members take an oath of secrecy." (*Encyclopaedia of World Politics*, p. 351f). A list of Indian Privy Councillors, given in *Hindustan Year Book and Who's Who, 1969*, begins as follows : 1909 Syed Ameer Ali, Sir B.C. Mitter, 1921 V.S. Srinivasa Sastri, 1926 Lord S.P. Sinha etc.
23. S.K. Bhuyan, *Ānandarām Baruwā*, p. 164
24. Purnendu Prasad Bhattacharyya, *Bhāratkosh* (Bangiya Sahitya Parishad). Vol. I
25. Sripad Babaji Thakur was yet another Indian who qualified in the Open Competition in 1869 along with Surendranath, Romesh Chunder and Bihari Lal. But he could not sit in the Final Eaxamination in 1871 and hence, came out successful in the Final Examination in 1872 along with Anundoram. Presumably because of securing a higher position than that of Sripad Babaji in the merit list of 1872 Anundoram is reckoned as the fifth and not as the sixth Civilian.
26. Vide J. N. Gupta, *Life and Work of Romesh Chunder Dutt*, p. 19.
27. *Ibid*, p. 20.
28. *loc.cit.*
29. *op.cit.*, p. 21.
30. *op.cit.*, p.37
31. First edn. 1920, Second edn. 1924.
32. Vide Suryya Kumar Bhuyan, *Ānandarām Baruwā*, 3rd edn. 1955, Preface, p. 15.
33. 256 out of 500
34. 216 out of 500.
35. 194 out of 500
36. Quoted by S.K. Bhuyan in *Ānandarām Baruvā*, p. 196f. Bhuyan quoted from the 1931 edn. of the book. See also the Bibliography for other editions of the book. This quotation is, however, more useful for us for Surendranath's words of admiraton for Anundoram and not so much for the other facts, because, there are certain discrepancies, e.g. Anundoram did not compete in 1869. Moreover, the statement, 'the point having been settled in my case, it was no longer raised in

his.' perhaps applies more precisely to Sripad Babaji Thakur and not to Anundoram. Sripad Babaji also qualified in the Open Competition of 1869, but had the same age problem as that of Surendranath. The latter in his autobiography (p.14) observes : "Sripad Babaji Thakur did not move in the matter . Wise man that he was, he rightly concluded that if I won he would win too; for cases stood exactly in the same footing."

37. "We had lost nearly a year in fighting the case, and we were given the option of going up for the final examination with men of our year (1869) or with the candidates who would be seleted in 1870. I decided in favour of the former course. Sripad Babaji Thakur preferred to join the batch of 1870" (Surendranath Banerjea, *loc.cit* ).
38. Bhuyan, *op. cit.*, p. 174
39. Max Müller (1823-1900) was already a very big name. The first volume of *Ṛgveda* was published in 1849, and by 1872 as many as five volumes were out leaving only the sixth to be out in 1874. During this period Max Müller had also published his *Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (1859), *Sanskrit Grammar* (1866), *Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya* (1869), *Ṛgveda Translation* Vol. I (1869) and was working for the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* and *Pada* texts (1873).
40. Such a rigidity was the order of the day, and the situation was in no way better even in Calcutta when Surendranath and his two friends came back from England one year earlier as may be warranted by the following account given by Surendranath himself :

"All three of us (Romesh Chunder Dutt, Bihari Lal Gupta and myself) stayed in our homes and the *Hindoo Patriot*, the leading Hindu journal of the time, edited by Kristo Das Pal, announced that we had been received back into the bosom of our homes and Hindu society. It was a bold step for my mother and my brothers to have given me a place in a Brahmin family, and to have eaten and drunk and lived with me...

A visit to England, however, was a new form of heterodoxy to which our society had not yet become accustomed. The Anglicized habits of some of those who had come back from England added to the general alarm. The leaders indeed applauded the courage of the members of my family in taking me back into the old home, but the whole attitude of Hindu society, of the rank and file, was one of unqualified disapproval. My family was practically outcasted. We were among the highest of Brahmins; but those who used to eat and drink with us on ceremonial occasions stopped all interourse and refused to invite us..." (*A Nation in Making*, 1925, p. 25).

41. Anundoram was now only 22 years 4 months old. Yet his father was not unjustified in asking him to get married. Because, in those days it

was the vogue for the boys to get married at an earlier age. In this connection it should be interesting to note that Romesh Chunder Dutt got married in January 1864 when he was only 15 yeas old and before he had passed his matriculation. The married life was for nearly 45 years. He had 5 daughters and one son. The eldest daugher was born in 1866 and the second in 1867 before he went to England. (Vide J.N. Gupta, *Life and Work of Romesh Chunder Dutt*, p. 15f). The second daughter, Bimala, was married to Bolinarayan Borrah, Civil Engineer, born at Guwahati.

42. S.K. Bhuyan, *Ānandarām Baruwā*, p. 47f
43. Biswanarayan Shastri says that Borooah 'was appointed Assistant to the Deputy Commissioner of Sibsagar, Assam' (*Anundoram Barooah*, p.31). S.K. Bhuyan, however, says that Borooah was an 'Assistant Magistrate' (op.cit., p. 49) and an 'Assistant Commissioner' (op. cit., p. 51). In an official note of the Govt. of Bengal, General Deptt., dated 8th July 1873 he is clearly referred to as Asstt. Commr. of Seebsauger (Vide Appendix - A for the text of the note)
44. Hemchandra Goswami, 'Civilian Ānandarām Baruwā' in Padmanath Gohain Baruah, (ed), *Jīvanī-saṁgraha*, 4th edn. p.42.
45. Ibid, p.43. Also Bhuyan, op.cit., p. 51f. That Anundoram Borooah left Assam for Bengal due to a conflict with Colonel Campbell appears to be confirmed also by his contemporary Upendranath Barua, who wrote an article on Borooah in Assamese in the *Asamīyā* of Feb. 9, 1934. (Bhuyan, op cit., p. 52f).
46. Kumud Chandra Bordoloi (ed), *Sadarāminar Ātmajīvanī*, p. 182f. Earlier, Assam was under the administration of Bengal, and the Commissioner of N.E. Bengal was in charge of the administration of Assam also.
47. S.K. Bhuyan, *Ānandarām Baruwā*, p. 52. This incident has been
48. narrated by Chandramohan Goswami referred to earlier (Supra , p.5). Reproduced from the third para of the note as it occurs in a photo-copy of a transcript (of the original ) now preserved in the Archive of the Govt. of Assam.
49. An idea of the places of service could perhaps be made from the names of the places from which he issued the prefaces to his various books. But this is not always dependable. He seems to have given the names of even such places a visit to which could be obviously only a casual visit.
50. The head-quarters town was Nasirabad, referred to in the colophon to the commentary on the sixth Act of *Mahāvīracarita*. In the concerned verse Nasirabad is mentioned immediately after Sibsagar (< Sivasāgara).
51. Dumkah or Doomka came to be called Naya Dumka for the first time

in 1855 when it became the head-quarters of the Santal Pargana District. Later on for a few years it became the HQ of the Dumka Sub-District. In 1872 it again became the head-quarters of the whole District. (Vide *The Imperial Gazetter*, Vol XI).

52. Prof. Cecil Bendall contributed a long notice on the life of Anundoram Borooah to the *Trubner's Record*, No. 245, 1889, where he says: "He revisited England at least once, for I met him in London about 1884. His manner with strangers at least was very reserved and retiring ." (Bendall's note is quoted in Bhuyan's *Ānandarām Baruwā*, pp. 189-193).
53. In the colophon to the sixth Act of the *Jānakīrāmabhāṣya* also he describes himself to be in the services of the administration of Bengal. cf. "dṛṣṭena rājakāryāṇi baṅgaśāsakaśāsanāt".
54. Vide, J.N. Gupta, *Life and Work of Romesh Chunder Dutt*, p. 60
55. Vide 4th edn. Oxford, 1924.
56. *Iqc.cit.*
57. *Life and Work of Romesh Chunder Dutt*, p. 46
58. Gauranga Gopal Sengupta also says that of all the Indians, Anundoram was the first to earn the glory of serving as a District Magistrate. A little later than Anundoram, Romesh Chunder Dutt and Bihari Lal Gupta also received this honour. (Vide *Svadeśīya Bhārat-Vidyā Pathik*, p. 128).
59. Gunabhiram Baruah, *Ānandarām Ḍhekīāl Phukanar Jīvan Carit*, p. 123ff.
60. Sir Edward Gait, *A History of Assam* (1926), p. 331 (p. 383f in the 1967 reprinted edn).
61. S.K. Bhuyan, *Ānandarām Baruwā*, p. 166.
62. There is a pun in the word *ananda*. It means 'joy' as well as the person Anundoram Borooah.
63. The above two stanzas in Bengali are reproduced from S.K. Bhuyan, *op. cit.*, pp. 223, 225.
64. *Dighi* in Bengali means a tank.
65. See section 7 under Part II ( The Works of Anundoram Borooah)
66. Chandranath Basu refers to this project of Borooah in his work *Bartamān Bāṅgālā Sāhityer Gati O Prakṛiti*. (Vide S.K. Bhuyan, *Ānandarām Baruwā*, p. 215). See also Gauranga Gopal Sengupta, *Svadeśīya Bhārat Vidyā Pathik*, p. 131.
67. i.e. a team of scholars engaged by Borooah for assisting him in his research work.
68. S.K. Bhuyan. *op. cit.*, p. 197.
69. Saumyendranath Sarkar, *Bāṅgāli Jīvane Vidyāsāgar*, p. 90 ff.
70. S.K. Bhuyan, *Ānandarām Baruwā*, p. 77 ff.

# Part Two

## *The Works of Anundoram Borooah*

(1) Dictionary :

Anundoram Borooah's literary activity covered a period of only twelve years. Yet his literary output, both in quality and quantity, wast admirable. His first work, *A Practical English-Sanskrit Dictionary* appeared in three volumes. The first volume appeared in May, 1877 ; the second in October, 1878 ; and the third volume in June, 1880. In the Preface to the second volume was incorporated the book, *Higher Sanskrit Grammar* , and in the Preface to the third the book, *Ancient Geography of India* . The *Grammar* was subsequently published separately also by Borooah himself: The Publication Board, Assam, has now, (i.e., in 1971) brought out the *Ancient Geography* separately and the three volumes of the bare text of the Dictionary in one volume running into nine hundred pages. Borooah sent the first 64 pages of the Dictionary to Max Muller and received his 'very favourable opinion' which proved to be a great encouragement to the scholar 'to persevere in these very difficult, however, interesting, researches'[71]. The first effort to provide an English-Sanskrit Dictionary was that of Monier Monier-Williams, who produced his work *A Dictionary of English and Sanskrit* under the patronage of the East India Company in 1851. After a quarter of a century the Dictionary by Anundoram Borooah started to appear. In 1884 V.S. Apte brought out his *Students' English-Sanskrit Dictionary* . A few lines from Apte's Preface will throw some light on the relative merits of the work of Anundoram. Apte observes :

"Mr. Anundoram Borooah's work is eminently *practical* : it abounds with quotations from several standard authors; the renderings are generally happy, and the work has, at least, a classical appearence... It now remains for me to do the grateful duty of acknowledging my obligations to those that thave assisted me in the preparation of the Dictionary in one form or another. Foremost among them stand the works of Mr. Borooah and Prof. Williams, both of which I have most frequently consulted. Monier Williams'

Dictionary, though inferior in several respects to Mr. Borooah's has several happy renderings of short words and expressions, ... I have also frequently referred to the learned Professor's valuable Sanskrit-English Dictionary; for both of which my sincere thanks are due to him. But my acknowledgements are chiefly due to Mr. Borooah, from whose work I have derived much substanial assistance, in the suggestion of equivalents for words or phrases, more particularly from his numerous quotations, and therein again, quotations from such works as were not accessible to me"[72].

For the Purpose of giving Sanskrit equivalents Borooah has classified the English words under three heads :

(i) Those for which there are exact or very near equivalents in Sanskrit, e. g., the word *causal* rendered as *hetvarthaka* , *hetumat* or *ṇijanta* , the last one, however, being recognised as only an accidental equivalent.

(ii) Those for which there are no equivalents, but the phrases in which they occur and the ideas conveyed by them are represented by different modes of expressions, on the basis of classical literature. For example, the word *scenery* is expressed differently in different places. Thus 'wild mountain *scenery* ' is rendered as 'araṇya-giri-*bhūmiḥ* ' and 'oh ! how beautiful is the *scenery* here' is rendered as 'aho rāmaṇīyakamasya [malayaparvatasya]'.

(iii) Those which have evolved from new discoveries in science and thought and for which there are no equivalents or equivalent modes of expression. For example, zoology = *jīvavijñānam, prāṇitattvam* ; zoologist =*jīvavijñānaviśāradaḥ, prāṇatattvavid* .

It is interesting that for coining new Sanskrit words Borooah did not hesitate to borrow even from non-traditional and non-native sources. For example, soap = *sāvanam,* (to) soap = *sāvanena mārṣṭi /mārjayati*. gun = (i) cannon = *kāmānam;* (ii) musket = *vandukam;* gunner = *kāmānikaḥ* , *kāmānādhikṛtaḥ* . It may be noted that Borooah takes meticulous care to provide the most precise quivalents in case of the various implications of the same original English word. For example, SENSATION : (i) philosophically *pratyakṣam* , e.g. , *ṣaḍvidham pratyakṣam;* (ii) consciousness = *cetanā* ; (iii) perception = knowledge = *upalabdhiḥ*, (iv) idiomatically, 'It created sensation at the time' = *janamanastatkālamācakarṣaitat*. SENSATIONAL e. g., in 'sensational novel' = '*hṛdayakṣobhikā ākhyāyikā* '.

Borooah seems to have had the idea of providing Sanskrit idioms for rendering most of the words and idioms of the English language. That is why he has given : Nail-brush = *nakha-mārjanī*

and 'tooth and nail' = *'ākeśāgrād ānakhāgrād'*. But Borooah has also made the statement : "Obsolete and technical words of rare occurrence have no place in my dictionary." (Preface , p. xvi)

One of the salient features of the Dictionary of Borooah is the coining of the new words as illustrated above. Borooah says ;

"To coin new equivalents, expressive of the prominent ideas conveyed by new scientific and philosphical terms, is not only in harmony with the genius of the Sanskrit language, whose pliancy and malleability are unsurpassed, but is likely to facilitate the study of science and philosophy among our country men, who are not acquainted with foreign tongues"[73].

This rather sounds like a prophecy in respect of our present-day effort to coin the scientific terms in the regional languages and then to compile a pan-Indian terminology depending mainly on the Sanskrit vocabulary. A situation as obtaining today seems to have been duly aniticipated by Anundoram Borooah, who concluded the Preface to the first volume with the words :

"I shall be under great obligations to my readers and reviewers if they would favour me with remarks and general suggestions; as it would be not only assisting the cause of Sanskrit but possibly also of its modern descendants"[74]. Max Müller reviewed all the three volumes of Borooah's *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*. The following passage from a review published in *The Academy* of 13th August, 1881 and reproduced here from S. K. Bhuyan's *Ānandarām Baruwā* (1955 edn ., p. 200 ff) should go a long way to show how Anundoram received a mead of encomium even from the most accomplished European Sanskritists :

"We heartily congratulate Mr. Anundoram Borooah on the completion of his English-Sanskrit Dictionary. We have dwelt on former occasions, when noticing the appearance of his first and second volumes, on the great difficulties of such an undertaking, and we have no hesitation in saying that it would be almost impossible for a European Sanskrit scholar to undertake such a work and carry it through successfully. That an English-Sanskrit Dictionary cannot be produced by the simple process of putting a Sanskrit-English Dictionary topsy-turvy is well known by this time to all scholars. But if we are still without a good English-Greek Dictionary, we need not wonder the Sanskrit scholars, even those whose reading has been most extensive, shrink from attempting such a work for English and Sanskrit. Mr Anundoram Borooah's work is a most creditable beginning in this branch of Sanskrit scholarship, and contains a number of very happy renderings of

English words and phrases. But the great difficulty consists in this, that so many ideas are utterly unknown in Sanskrit literature, and words have actually to be framed which if they do not render the original ideas exactly approximate at all events sufficiently near to become in time their proper equivalents. This process of inventing new words goes constantly in the modern languages of India, chiefly by the aid of Sanskrit, and hence a scholar like Mr Anundoram Borooah, who is a Barrister-at-law of the Middle Temple,... is more likely to hit on possible Indian equivalents for English ideas than even the most learned of Sanskrit scholars in Europe."

The necessity of a Sanskrit-English Dictionary for a modern student of Sanskrit is easily understandable. But the purpose of writing an English-Sanskrit Dictionary deserves to be clearly spelt out. V. S. Apte, in this context, makes an observation as follows : "Much need not, I think, be said with regard to the necessity of a work like this. In these days of literary activity, when the attention of students is drawn more and more to the study of Sanskrit, it is necessary that all appliances should be ready before them to facilitate this study." (op. cit. p. 2). Here a clear answer to the question is not provided.

In the review of Borooah's Dictionary published in *The Englishman* of 6th August, 1877 also this question is raised quiet pertinently. The gist of the observations made on this point in the said review is that the purpose of the Dictionary is to gain an accurate *literary* knowledge of Sanskrit.

"... The object of translating from English into Sanskrit is to gain an accurate literary knowledge of the latter language. No one will require, in this or in any other country to use the Sanskrit language for business purpose. It is clear, therefore, that Mr. Borooah has much increased the value of the Dictionary. by his frequent references to Sanskrit literature... Writing makes an accomplished man in Sanskrit as in every other language, and those who wish to acquire an accomplished knowledge of Sanskrit cannot do better than provide themselves with Mr. Anundoram Borooah's work"[75].

In this context it may be noted that when Monier Monier-Williams compiled his English-Sanskrit Dictionary he had a more specific utility of the Dictionary in view. Lieutenant Colonel Boden, of the Bombay Native Infantry, who returned to England in 1807 was the Founder of the Boden Chair of Sanskrit at Oxford University. It has been "stated most explicitly in his will (dated

August 15, 1811) that the special object of his munificent bequest was to promote the translation of the scriptures into Sanskrit, so as 'to enable his countrymen to proceed in the conversion of the natives of India to the Christian Religion' "[76]. Accordingly H. H. Wilson, the first Professsor to occupy the Boden Chair in 1832, in his address proposing himself for the Boden Professorship "laid stress on what he had done for 'the rendering of Scripture Terms into the Sanskrit language' "[77]. Monier-Williams was a student of Professor Wilson and an immediate successor of the latter as Boden Professor. The specific purpose for which he compiled the English-Sanskrit Dictionary may be gathered from the following statement : "Surely then it need not be thought surprising if following in the footsteps of my venerated master, I have made it the chief aim of my professional life to provide facilities for the translation of our sacred scriptures into Sanskrit, and for the promotion of a better knowledge of the religions and customs of India, as the best key to a knowledge of the religious needs of our great Eastern Dependency"[78]. Monier-Williams, who became Boden Professor in 1860, compiled the *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* with the aforesaid purpose in view at the instance of Professor Wilson and got it published by the Directors of the East India Company already in 1851. Seven years later the Sanskrit translation of the Bible by Rev. J. Wenger came out to bear a testimony to the utility of the *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* of Monier-Williams[79].

In the Preface to the *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* , however, Monier-Williams gives three reasons for compiling Sanskrit renderins of English words as follows :

(1) For the benefit of the students trained for Indian service in the East-India College, Haileybury. cf". ... the framers of the statutes of the East-India College have provided that no student shall be pronounced qualified for Indian service until he can make an intelligible translation from an English passage into the Oriental languages in which he has been instructed. And if this requirement has been wisely made, as a test of scholarship in the spoken dialects, much more has it so been made in regard to Sanskrit, the classical language of India, which bears a far closer relation to those dialects than Greek and Latin bear to the living languages of Europe". (1976 edn p. i). (2) For the benefit of the missionaries who would communicate the truth of the Christian scriptures to the learned Indians through Sanskrit, and for the benefit of the philanthropists and scholars who would pass on the scientific truth to the learned natives through Sanskrit. cf. " With missionaries,

and other philanthropists and scholars, whose aim has been to communicate scriptural and scientific truth to the learned natives, through the medium of their classical language," (op. cit. p. ii). (3) For the convenience of enriching the vocabularies of the vernaculars with borrowings from Sanskrit for the benefit of the "missionaries, and other philanthropists and scholars, whose aim has been to communicate scriptural and scientific truth ... to the uneducated, through their vernacular tongues, ..." (loc, cit.). This last point is more explicitly stated as follows : "And since it is found that no vernacular tongue is adequate to express the idea of religion and science, without borrowing its terms from the Sanskrit, the utility of an English and Sanskrit Dictionary will be recognised by all who have to compose in these dialects, whether in Hindi, Bengali, Uriya, Telegu, Canarese, Tamil, Malayalam, or Marathi" (op. cit., p. iii). Thus, it becomes clear that Monier-Williams had in view certain other secular purposes also besides the propagation of the message of Christianity.

It may be noted that Anundoram Borooah also subscribes to the third view of Monier-Williams that Sanskrit terms would be useful also for enriching the Indian vernaculars as we have already noticed in the light of the quotations referred to in the footnotes numbering 73 and 74. But, otherwise, Anundoram Borooah has nowhere made any statement about any specific utility of his Dictionary. Yet from the manner in which he wrote an original commentary on the *Mahāvīracarita* and also composed original verses in Sanskrit, it may, perhaps, be safely presumed that Borooah had the conviction that Sanskrit had the potentiality to serve as a very suitable medium of expression for nobler ideas even in the modern age, both in the form of translation and in the form of original writings, and a practical Dictionary could go a long way to facilitate this process of literary creation.

## (2) Higher Sanskrit Grammar : Gender and Syntax

This book first occurred as a Preface to the second volume of the Dictionary. Subsequently in 1879 it was published independently. It deals mainly with the problems of syntax and gender[79a]. It contains occasional equations with the rules of Greek and Latin. This warrants Borooah's interest in Comparative Philology. This interest is hinted at also by his reference to Franz Bopp, the founder of Comparative Philology, in the following lines occurring in one of the benedictory verses in Sanskrit given as a preamble in the grammar :

yāmāśritya bapā videśajaninodābhāvi śāstraṁ navaṁ bhinnānāṁ vacasāṁ pradarśya sutarāṁ sambandhasāraṁ sphuṭam.

[(The language) with the support of which, Bopp[80], a foreigner, invented a new branch of learning, by way of showing clearly the essential relationship between different speeches.] Borooah regrets that the work had to be prepared in a *mofussil* like Jahanabad without any library facility and convenience of consultation with other knowledgeable persons. But this book has been received very well. Within seven years of its publication there appeared in 1886 from the Netherlands the *Sanskrit Syntax* by J. S. Speijer[81]. In an introduction to this book H. Kern says:

"Indian grammar, which is virtually the same as sayingPanini's grammarsuperior as it is in many respects to anything of the kind produced among other civilized nations of antiquity, is professedly deficient in its treatment of syntax." (Leyden 13.7.1886). In the light of this, Borooah's grammar with special emphasis on Gender and Syntax may be reckoned as a very important contribution. The impact of this work may be surmised from the following statements of Speijer:

(1)For some useful intelligence I am indebted to Mr. Anundoram Borooah's *Higher Sanskrit Grammar*, Calcutta 1879. (Preface, p. vii), (2) Now, to these rules of Panini ... I have substituted the description expounded in the context. Mr. Anundoram Borooah has preceded me in this way. (p. 37 n), (3) So at least is the opinion of Anundoram Borooah ... and his opinion may be considered to hold good now-a-days in India with Sanskrit writing people ... (p. 99n).

## (3) Ancient Geography

A Preface incorporated into the third volume of the Dictionary has been entitled *On the Ancient Geography of India : Geographical names rendered in Sanskrit* . This is now published by the Publication Board, Assam, separately under the title- *Ancient Geography of India* , comprising 94 pages Royal 8 vo. Anundoram was a very good student of Mathematics. He secured the highest marks in Mathematics in L.A. Exmination and the fourth highest marks in the I.C.S examination[82]. In this book Borooah gives us a glimpse of his profound knowledge of, and deep interest in modern Mathematics by way of explaining certain technical terms of the

*Līlāvatī*[83]. As a part of the *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* Borooah finds it necessary to give a "list of geographical names with their Sanskrit representatives." This is done mostly by way of tracing back the ancient name for a modern place, e.g., Bagmati > Bhogavatī; Colapore >Karavīram, Kolāpuram; Kanauj > Kānyakubjam, Kanyākubjam, Mahodayam, Gādhinagaram, and so on. This requires a study of the ancient geography. That is why he presents the results of his own researches with the following prefatory remark :

"The subject has no doubt been ably handled by some foreign scholars of high celebrity. It ranks among its most successful and earnest devotees our great antiquarian General Alexander Cunningham. His work is a standing monument of what a long useful life can achieve. But there are so many doubtful points that admitting my deep obligations to that accomplished scholar, I shall do best to give my own account of ancient India"[84].

That this study of Borooah was not uncalled for is, perhaps, amply testified by the following words of V. S. Apte :

"The third Appendix gives the most important names in the ancient Geography of India ... and in this part of the work I have to cordially acknowledge the help I have derived from Cunningham's Ancient Geography, but particularly from Mr. Borooah's Essay prefixed to the third volume of his English-Sanskrit Dictionary"[85].

(4) Mahāvīracarita

The next work to be named is the *Mahāvīracarita of Bhavabhūti* with Anundoram Borooah's own Sanskrit commentary *Jānakīrāmabhāṣya* and a Sanskrit-English Glossary. This drama was first published by Francis Henry Trithen in London in 1848 and then by Taranath Tarkavacaspati in Calcutta in 1857[86]. With reference to these two editions Anundoram says :

"None of these editions is accompanied with a commentary or translation of the *prākrita* passages, which are absolutely necessary for the elucidation of the text. I have, therefore, thought proper to issue this edition to remove a want much felt by, I believe, all students of Sanskrit"[87].

No commentary of the *Vīracarita* was discovered till then Anundoam says: "So far as I am aware there is no ancient commentary on this play"[88], and that is where the greater importance of Borooah's commentary lies.

The commentary is written in a typically traditional style. It is, indeed, very interesting to see such a high officer of the British government, coming constantly in contact with the waves of Western culture, writing such a Sanskrit in such a traditional style. In a traditional way the commentary begins with the following introductory verses :

nāṭakaṁ vīracāritraṁ praṇītaṁ bhavabhūtinā.
jānakīrāmasambaddhaṁ vākyārthaduṣparigraham :
praṇamya jānakīrāmau sarvabhāratapūjitau.
jānakīrāmasaṁjñena bhāṣyeṇa vivṛṇomyaham :
jānakīrāmasodaryo durlabhāgarganandanaḥ.
ānandarāmabaduyā prāgjyotiṣpurasambhavaḥ :

[The nāṭaka, entitled *Vīracāritra* (or 'connected with the achievements of the hero'), composed by Bhavabhūti, connected with Jānakī (i.e., Sītā) and Rāma, where it is very difficult to comprehend the purport of the sentences, is being explained, wih a commentary styled Jānakīrāmabhāṣya, after paying homage to Jānakī and Rāma, adored all over India, by me, named Anundoram Borooah, born in the city of Prāgjyotiṣa as a brother of Janakirama and as a son of Durlabha and Garga[89].]

Bhavabhūti gives a name to each Act. Keeping consonance with these names Anundoram also gives concluding verses. Under the first Act, called *Kaumāra,* he gives :

śrīmadānandarāmeṇa durlabhāgargasūnunā.
atikrāntena kaumāraṁ kaumāro vivṛto mudā :

[The Act entitled Kaumāra (i.e., one which relates to the boyhood) stands explained with pleasure by Sri Anundoram, a son of Durlabha and Gargaram, who has passed his own boyhood.]

Under the second Act, called *Paraśurāmasaṁvāda* , he gives :

bhrātrā paraśurāmasya lauhityatatajanmanaḥ.
paraśurāmasaṁvādo vṛttenāyaṁ sphuṭīkṛtaḥ :

[The Act entitled Paraśurāmasaṁvāda (i. e., the episode of Paraśurāma) stands explained with a gloss by the brother of Parasurama, born on the bank of the river Lauhitya .]

The commentary is full of allusions, parallel quotations and critical elucidations of grammatical points. At the same time it is very easy , and it dose not lack in references to modern situations wherever necessary. e.g.,

(1) ... yathā hastināpuraṁ gajsāhvayaṁ vadanti yathā cāhimakaram aśītadīdhitiṁ tathā kavinā kālapriyanāthapadena mahākāla uktaḥ. purā kilojjayinyāṁ mahākālāyatanam āsīt. yaduktaṁ kathāsaritsāgare "yasyāṁ vasati viśveso mahākālavapuḥ svayam.

śithilīkṛta-kailāśanivāsavyasano haraḥ:" yathā ca meghadūte "apyanyasmin jaladhara mahākālamāsādya kāle sthātavyaṁ te nayanaviṣayaṁ yāvad atyeti bhānuḥ :" iti. (p.1f)

[With the word Kālapriyanātha the poet has referred to Mahākāla. This has an analogy with referring to Hastināpura as Gajasāhvaya and with applying the epithet 'aśītadīdhiti' to 'ahimakara' (i. e., the sun). It is recounted that in the days of yore there was a temple of Mahākāla (i.e., Śiva) in Ujjayini. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* there occurs the statement: "In which city (i.e., Ujjayini) Hara (i.e., the lord Siva), the lord of the Universe himself is living in the form of god Mahākāla having abandoned his fascination for residing in Kailāśa." So also in the *Meghadūta* there is a reference to the temple of Mahākāla in the statement "apyanyasmin", etc.]

(ii) " ... yātrā utsavaviśeṣaḥ. idānīmapi kāmarūpādipradeśeṣu yātrāprasaṅgena nāṭakaprayogarītiḥ pracalitā" (p. 2)[... Yātrā is a type of festival. Even now-a- days in the provinces like that of Kamarupa there is the vogue of performing a drama on the occasion of a festival.]

(iii) "janakānām iti vaṁśārthe bahuvacanam. lakṣaṇayā' patyārthe bahuvacanamiti bhaṭṭojidīkṣitamatam. tanna samyak saṅgatam, janakasyāpyatra grahaṇāt. tathā tadudāhṛte kālidāsīye 'raghūṇām anvayaṁ vakṣye' iti vākye raghurapi gṛhītaḥ" [p. 10]

[ The plural number in the word 'janakānām' is in the sense of the family (of Janaka). It is the opinion of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita that the plural number is used to mean the progeny (of Janaka). This opinion does not seem appropriate because the meaning of the word covers also the idea of Janaka himself. So also in the expression 'raghūnām anvayaṁ vakṣye', given as an illustration from Kālidāsa by himself, the idea of Raghu also is included (in the meaning of the word 'raghūnām').]

From the third extract given above it becomes clear that Borooah never hesitated to examine critically even the views of the traditional commentators. This position is further warranted by a remark passed by Borooah in the Preface to the book under serial number six below.

Anundoram's literary productions spanned from 1877 to 1888. It is significant that the *Jānakīrāmabhāṣya* appeared in the very first year of this glorious *yuga* (i.e., 'period' or 'a period of twelve years').

(5) The book that deserves to be mentioned next is *A Companion to the Sanskrit Reading Undergraduates of the Calcutta University*, now published by the Publication Board, Assam, with the title *Selections from Sanskrit Classics*. It contains critical notes on select

passages of the following texts prescribed by Calcutta University for the First Arts and B.A. Sanskrit courses for the year 1878-79 : (1) *Meghaḍūta*, (2) *Kumārasambhava*, I to VII, (3) *Raghuvaṁśa*, I-IX, (4) *Śakuntalā*, and (5) *Bhaṭṭi*, I to V.

This is a small book containing only 43 pages Royal 8vo. But yet this is an important work on several counts. This work was completed in 1877, as evidenced by the Preface dated November 29, 1877 and was published in 1878, as warranted by a statement of Prof. Cecil Bendall M. A., Keeper of Oriental Books, British Museum, London[90]. In this very intial stage of his glorious literary career Borooah makes certain important pronouncements with regard to his method and purpose of critical studies of classical Sanskrit texts. Some of these pronouncements may be systematically laid down in the light of the Preface to the said book as follows :

(i) Boroah had a strong opinion with regard to the syllabus in Sanskrit meant for the Undergraduates of Calcutta University. He had no objection to the inclusion of the four works of Kālidāsa in the syllabus. But with regard to the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, he says as follows : "But *Bhaṭṭi* is certainly one of those books which should not be put in the hands of Sanskrit learners. Its style is throughout artificial. The forms of grammar it illustrates are often very rare and as often abnormal - forms which merely burden the memory and interfere seriously in the progress of the student"[91]. This shows that Booroah had a preference for simplicity and lucidity, a thing demonstrated also by his own Sanskrit commentary on the *Vīracarita*. Moreover, Borooah had a great sympathy for the Sanskrit learners. He was against the idea of taxing them academically. It will be seen that he was opposed to taxing them financially also, as warranted by his fixing concessional prices for students in case of some of his books.

(ii) Borooah was opposed to the method of learning grammar and lexicons merely by rote, as he observes : "There can be no doubt that the little progress made in the *tols* of our country is owing to the method of study persued - to the prominence given to getting by heart grammatical aphorisms and lexicographical verses and to the extreme neglect of the more important sphere of intellect. I have every confidence that much better results would be attained if Sanskrit grammar is more philosophically and systematically studied and proper care is taken in thoroughly impressing on the students the true sense and full force of the texts they read"[92].

(iii) Borooah was opposed to the idea of complete dependence upon the traditional commentators, as evidenced by the following

statement : "My object has been to shew that the old commentators are not always infallible and I shall consider my object thoroughly fulfilled if I can arouse the young minds of India to use their intellect in all such cases and to think out the true sense of Sanskrit texts for themselves"[93].

(iv) Although he was not prepared to depend solely on the traditional scholars yet he was also not totally irreverent towards them as may be gathered from the following statement : "I, by no means, think lightly of some of these commentators. I have the greatest respect for Mallinath. He is certainly the best, most learned and most faithful of Sanskrit text-expositors and probably there is not a single line in his writings of which something might not be said in deference"[94].

(v) Yet Borooah was of the opinion that in the matter of scientific investigation the modern scholar has an advantage over the traditional commentator. This is evidenced by the following further statement made in continuation of the one quoted at (iv) above : "But with all the advantages of modern civilization and the progress made in the comparative study of languages, it will not be considered surprising if some additional light is thrown on some of the passages he explained"[95].

The aforesaid opinion with regard to the advantage of the modern scholar finds an analogy in the following statement made by A.A. Macdonell in 1899 with reference to Sāyaṇa and his commentary on the *Ṛgveda* : "But there is little information of value to be derived from him, that, with our knowledge of later Sanskrit, with the other remains of ancient Indian literature, and with our various philological appliances, we might not sooner or later have found out for ourselves"[96].

This self-confidence of the modern scholar is more explicitly expressed by way of reproducing an opinion of Rudolph von Roth (1821-1895), 'the founder of Vedic philology'[97], who wanted to improve upon the translation of *Ṛgveda* begun in 1850 by H. H. Wilson, the first Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford[98], relying solely on the commentary of Sāyaṇa. Hence, cf. " Roth further expressed the view that a qualified European is better able to arrive at the true meaning of the *Ṛgveda* than a Brahman interpreter. The judgement of the former is unfettered by theological bias; he possesses the historical faculty, and he has also a far wider intellectual horizon, equipped as he is with all the resources of scientific scholarship"[99].

When Roth claims the European scholar to be 'better able' for undertaking a scientific research Borooah tries to demonstrate that an Indian is also no less competent for doing the same as may be warranted by the following statement made in continuation of one quoted last with reference to Mallinatha : "I have, therefore, ventured to give out my view freely in some of the cases I differ from him[100]. If in many or even all these points I am wrong, I am sure the intelligent public will not still condemn my attempt, as the only means of removing almost the paralized inaction of modern India as regards its ancient literature are attempts like these"[101].

With this confidence and catholicity of outlook Anundoram Borooah could emerge as a pioneer in respect of a new way of scientific interpretation of the classical Sanskrit texts. This fact is laid bare in unequivocal terms by Cecil Bendall in the following passage, concerning the *Companion to the Sanskrit-reading Undergraduates*, occurring in the body of 'a notice of the life of Anundoram', published in *The Trubner's Record*, No. 245, 1889 : " But small in bulk though it is, I cannot but consider it an important contribution to Sanskrit scholarship. European editions of Sanskrit classics generally consist of text with, occasionally, a few origional explanatory notes, and at best more or less meagre extracts from the great native commentators. Indian editors, on the other hand, do not really elucidate either text or commentary, but compose a learned super-commentary, which is often, as in the case of Taranatha on the Siddhānta-Kaumudī, obscurer than the work professed to be explained. Vaduya takes a most useful middle-course, and without being carried away by the authority of Mallinātha or even by that of Amarasiṁha or Pāṇini, explains both commentary and text. This is most useful to the European student. There are plenty of helps for Kālidāsa and Manu themselves ; bur for the due understanding of Mallinātha, Govindarāja or Kullūka to what work can one refer a pupil ? My own acquaintance, such as it is, with these important scholiasts was first derived, in orthodox fashion, from the mouth of my 'ăchārya' (Vaduya's teacher too, at Presidency College by the by)[102], who himself was instructed by duly qualified Brahmins; but I question whether the average European student is in a position to study these writers as they deserve. Here, then, was a good new departure worthy of imitation by Sanskritists, in all lands, and especially in India"[103].

Though originally meant for learners of Sanskrit, the *Selections from Classical Sanskrit* ultimately turned out to be a useful and thought-provoking pioneering work also for research scholars.

(6) Next comes the work called *Bhavabhūti and His Place in Sanskrit Literature*, published in the beginning of 1878. The original intention was to prefix this book to the *Mahāvīracarita*. But the author was obliged to defer this work to the beginning of the following year, as told by the author himself in the Preface to *Mahāvīrcarita* (p. xxix). This implies that Anundoram had been producing and publishing his books according to a time-bound programme. This book contains a critical appreciation and comparative study of all the plays of Bhavabhūti and all the plays based on the story of Rāma. The Publication Board, Assam, has since published this book as an Introduction to the *Mahāvīrcarita* (1969) and also independently (1971)[104].

As a modern critical appreciation of all the dramas of a classical dramatist this book of Borooah deserves to be reckoned as a pioneering work. This book contains a comparative study of the three plays of Bhavabhūti in respect of common verses, common expressions, common passages, language and thought. Here Bhavabhūti is recognised as the first to dramatise the life of Rāma, and while taking note of this we have to remember that many other plays and particularly the plays ascribed to Bhāsa were yet to be discovered when Borooah wrote his dissertation on Bhavabhūti. Here Borooah opines that the *Mahānāṭaka* is merely a compilation and shows the extent of its indebtedness to other Rāma-plays. Borooah finds an occasion to establish the chronology of the Rāma-plays, *Naiṣadhacarita*, *Kāvyaprakāśa*, *Sāhitayadarpaṇa*, *Daśarūpaka* and *Sarasvatī-Kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, to make a comparative assessment of the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, to determine the date and place of Bhavabhūti, to make a comparative study of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti and to fix their relative chronology. Borooah also examines the relative chronology of the three plays of Bhavabhūti and in his opinion *Vīracarita* is the first and the *Mālatīmādhava* is the last, and, this conclusion stands irrefutable on many counts. Borooah also presents a comparison between Bhavabhūti, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Bhaṭṭikāvya* and a general survey of all the Rāma-plays available to him, viz., *Vīracarita*, *Uttaracarita*, *Mahānāṭaka* (*Hanumannāṭaka*), *Prasannarāghava*, *Udāttarāghava*, *Anargharāghava*, *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, *Chalitarāma*, *Kundamālā*, *Jānakīrāghava*, *Rāghavābhyudaya* and *Rāghavavilāsa*. Borooah's dissertation contains also a cultural commentary on the *Vīracarita*, by way of examining the condition of women and the geography of the time, and also comments on the vocabulary and the defects of the drama. Further Borooah presents a critical appreciation of the *Uttaracarita* (p. 45) and offers the opinion that *Mālatīmādhava* is the

best of Bhavabhūti's plays (p. 52). Borooah also presents a general comment on Bhavabhūti's genius, makes a reference to the Westerners' relative assessment of Bhavabhūti and Kālidāsa and concludes the book with an impressive passage in praise of the Sanskrit language.

(7) Now we come to the work called *A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sanskrit Language, Vol X*[105]. This is actually a book on Prosody and that is why this book is now reissued by the Publication Board, Assam, under the title *Prosody*. An idea of the contents of this may be presented as follows:

The *Preface* (pp. 1-8) contains a history of Sanskrit prosody, which is followed by the Sanskrit text of the *Chandaḥsūtra* of Piṅgala accompanied by translation and critical explanation of the sutras distributed over the eight chapters of the original work (pp. 8-92). In case of certain rules of Piṅgala, quotations are given also from the *Ṛk̇-prātiśākhya* of Śaunaka, e.g., under Piṅgala 3.47 (p. 45). The explanations of Piṅgala's sūtras sometimes run into several pages, e.g., the explanation under Piṅgala 2.16 covers four pages. Piṅgala's sūtras are followed by the main dissertation called *Prosody*, which is an independent treatise on the science of Sanskrit Prosody in five parts, viz., Preliminary, Vedic Metres, Classical Syllabic Metres, Quantitative Metres, and Pause (pp. 1-156). Here all the known Vedic and classical metres are defined and explained in English. This technical treatise also happens to make very enjoyable reading because of copious illustrations taken from Vedic and classical sources. The illustrations are given with such verses which are more beautiful and more celebrated than the verses usually given in the traditional treatises on metres. For instance, the Mālinī metre is illustrated with as many as three most beautiful verses, viz., (i) *Vikacakamalagandhair andhayan bhṛṅgamālā*, etc. (*Śiśupālavadha*, 11.19), (ii) *alasavalitamugdha*, etc.(*Mālatīmādhava*, 1.29) and (iii) *śaśinamupagateyam*, etc. (*Raghuvaṁśa*, 6.85). Thus, the *Prosody* section of the book may be appreciated as a very enjoyable anthology of select verses of classical Sanskrit literature. The *Prosody* section is followed by an *Index of Metres* (pp. 157-167) and the mere text (with variant readings) of what is called *Āgneyaschandaḥsāra* (pp. 5-14), i.e., the text of the eight Adhyāyas of the *Agnipurāṇa* dealing with metres. This is followed by the text of the *Vṛttaratnākara* of Kedārabhatta, accompanied by the commentary of Nārāyaṇabhatta. This book also contains "a succint account of Prākṛta Prosody and full discussion of metrical problems."

This book on *Prosody* seems to be designed as a text book. Because, the text of the *Vṛttaratnākara* (accompanied by Nārāyaṇa's Commentary), which covers 100 pages in the first edition, is followed by Notes (41/2 pages), Corrections (2 pages) and Exercises of the following nature: (A) To 'Distinguish Poetry from Prose' in some given extracts, (B) 'Arrangement of Verses' (11/2 pages). (Verses, numbering nine, given by Borooah in this context, constitute an anthology of useful and beautiful quotations from such sources as the *Līlāvatī* ), (C) 'Correction of Mistakes' and (D) 'Rules of Prosody', i.e., Restoration of the correct text of certain rules of Prosody.

The traditional enumeration of the six *aṅgas* consider Prosody and Grammar as distinct: "Chandaḥ pādau tu vedānāṁ mukhaṁ vyākaraṇaṁ smṛtam." But Anundoram considers Prosody to be "The most important branch of Sanskrit Grammar." The greatest utility of Prosody seems to be for detecting "all ordinary faults of omission, insertion, and alteration" for the purpose of reconstructing the traditional texts. Thus it is more in the interest of textual criticism[106].

The volume on Prosody is called the tenth volume of a Comprehensive Grammar. In 1881 Borooah issued a Prospectus[107] giving an outline of the Grammar which was projected to comprise twelve volumes of about one thousand pages each. Its object wass to "simplify the rules of Grammar as far as possible, to examine their historical growth and illustrate them fully from the existing literature, both ancient and modern and to offer a complete commentary on all the *Vedas* ."

An idea as to how comprehensive it was meant to be may be gathered from the following outline of the first two volumes :

"The preface will comprise the first two volumes of about 1000 pages each.

The Aṣṭādhyāyī Sūtras, Vārttika Sūtras, Uṇādi Sūtras, Phit Sūtras, Liṅgānushāsana Sūtras will be quoted, translated, and examined, with extracts from the Shikshās and Vedic Prātishākhyas. The Vedic vocabulary (Nighaṇṭu) and Yāska's views (Nirukta) with Devarāja's explanations (Nirvacana) will be fully reproduced and in the material parts compared with the explanations of Vedic commentators. Pāṇini will be still further illustrated by complete exhibition of his Gaṇapāṭha and reproduction of material parts of Patañjali, Vāmana, and Bhaṭṭoji Dikshita and where necessary compared with classical commentators and occasionally with modern grammarians"[108].

In the Prospectus itself it has been said that the volume on Prosody would be published first, and accordingly we have it. It was to be followed by a seventh volume on verbs. But instead we have the *Nānārthasaṁgraha* as the first part of the projected third volume.

About the fantastic project on the *Comprehensive Grammar* Max Müller wroter to Borooah as follows :

"I Confess, I felt almost overwhelmed by the grandeur of it but if only you carry (sic) some portion of it, you will have done a very useful work.

It is a great undertaking, and will require for its completion a long life, a long purse, and long patience"[109].

It is a pity that Borooah could bring out only about two volumes since he was not granted a long life as mentioned by Max Müller.

(8) The next book issued in chronological order was called *Vāmana Kāvyālaṁkāra Sūtravritti , Vāgbhata Alaṁkāra* and *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* with a few notes and extracts from old commentaries, and prefatory summary of Prakrita changes. The Preface is dated Benares, Dec. 27, 1882. But its name already occurred in the list of 'works by the same author' appended to the volume on Prosody. It was possble, presumably, because the printing was almost complete at the time of issuing the Prosody earlier in 1882. The title page, however, gives the date of the Publication as 1883. This book was priced Rupees 15.

The first work occurring in this composite volume is the *Kāvyālaṁkārasūtravṛtti* of Vāmana. The main text, which covers 48 pages, is preceded by an *Anukrama* (=Table of Contents) covering one page, two pages of Notes, half page of Corrections and half page of Reading (i. e., variant readings). The Notes are in Sanskrit and the same seem to be simple elucidations given by Borooah himself. For instance, on Vāmana's "arocakinaḥ satṛṇābhyavahāriṇaśceti" (Sūtra, 1. 2. 1) Borooah presents an elucidations as follows :

"1. 18 nāsti rocakaṁ rucikaraṁ dravyaṁ yeṣāṁ te arocakinaḥ aparicitalaṁkarasastra ityarthah. satrnam abhyavaharanti bhunjate iti satṛṇābhyavahāriṇaḥ doṣaguṇavivekasūnya ityarthaḥ"[109a].

The second book of the composite volume is the *Vāgbhata Alaṁkāra* . The main text covers 24 pages and it is preceded by extracts from Siṁha Deva Gaṇi's Commentary (4 1/2 pages), Anukrama, i.e. , Table of Contents (1/4 page), Reading, i. e. ,

Variant readings (1/4 page), and Corrections (1/4 page).

The third book of the composite volume is the *Sarasvatīkanthābharaṇa* , where the bare text is preceded by a *Paricchedānukrama* (1/4 page) and followed by Notes (27 1/2 pages) and Corrections (7 1/2 pages). This very book was published separately in 1884 and a second edition of the same was brought out by the Publication Board, Assam, in 1969.

(9) *Saraswatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* was the next book. It was a re-issue of the text that occurred earlier along with the *Vāmana Kāvyālaṁkāra Sūtravṛtti* and *Vāgbhaṭālaṁkāra*. This volume was priced at Rs. 5/-. The purpose of this edition will be clear from the short Preface, dated Jessore, January 28, 1884 :

"It has been represented to me that many of the students of Sanskrit such as those of Bhatpara and Mulajor cannot avail themselves of my edition of the Saraswatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa on account of its high price. I accordingly re-issue it at a greatly reduced price. I regret my time is so fully occupied that although I can now command the materials, I shall not be able to issue a revised text with a full commentary for several years to come"[110].

Two things should be clear from these words : Firstly, that Borooah had great sympathy for the students of Sanskrit. Secondly, that he was preparing his books according to a time-bound programme. But it was always Borooah's endeavour to improve upon the texts already edited by him and he had been looking forward to a better amount of materials and better opportunities.cf."Should I succeed hereafter in procuring the manuscripts of all the works I want, I shall try to remove these defects, when a suitable opportunity occurs"[111].

*Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* is a very voluminous Alaṁkāra work composed by Bhojarāja. In the Publication Board edition the text alone covers 352 pages of a book in 8vo size. The text is followed by 24 pages of 'Notes', which mainly provide (i) grammatical notes on difficult words, (ii) Sanskrit renderings of all the Prakrit passages and verses, and (iii) sources of all the quotations given as illustrations. The 'Notes', written in a *Ṭīkā* form in Sanskrit, appear to be a product of great erudition and hard labour.

(10) Now we come to the *Nānārthasaṁgraha*, which was issued as the first part of the third volume of the Comprehensive Grammar. This work is a Dictionary of homonyms presented in an alphabetical order with their meanings in the form of judicious and choice quotations from as many as twelve classical lexicons. All the entries are authenticated by examining the relevant modern

lexicons, the work of traditional lexicographers, various commentaries on them and numerous manuscripts of the traditional lexicographies and commentaries. There are about five thousand five hundred key words in this compilation, and the homonyms are accompanied by the *Śabdabhedaprakāśa* chapter from the *Viśvaprakāśa* of Maheśvara, which deals with the following :

(i) Such words, which having the same meaning are allowed to have slightly different spellings, e.g., *Jambuka* and *jambūka* in the sense of a jackal, or *sunāsīra* and *śunāśīra* in the sense of Indra.

(ii) Words which should have *b* and not *v*, e.g., *bṛndāraka*, *braja*, *barāṭaka*.

(iii) Words which should have *v* and not *b*, e.g., *vindu*, *vidruma*, *vadānya*.

(iv) Words having difference in respect of dental, palatal, cerebral *s* etc.

(v) A section specifying the genders of words.

The whole work has been rendered priceless with 89 pages of critical notes and a 40-page essay containing profound thoughts on serious studies in general and semantics and early lexicographers in particular.

(11) The full title of the next book reads as "*Dhātuvṛittisāra*, or the Metrical Portion of Kātantra Gaṇavṛitti, with extracts from Ramānātha's Manoramā : From the Dhātukoṣa of Anundoram Borooah."

This contains a summary (*sāra*) of Durgasiṁha's *Kātantragaṇavṛtti*, with extracts from a commentary named *Manoramā* by Ramānātha[112]. The *Gaṇavṛtti* is a sort of lexicon which presents the meanings of the Dhātus (i.e., verbal roots) in a systematic manner. It begins with the meaning of the root *bhū* as follows : "1. bhū sattāyām. sato bhāvaḥ pravṛttinimittam sattā. bhavati kedāreṣvankurah." 1. The root *bhū* is used in the sense of existence (*sattā*). *Sattā* is the state of being existent or the very reason for being existent. The verb *bhavati* derived from the root *bhū* is illustrated with the sentence '*bhavati* kedāreṣu aṅkuraḥ' (Sprout of grass exists in the fields). Ramānātha, while writting a gloss on the text of the *Gaṇavṛtti* dealing with the root *bhū*, presents a long verse in Sārdūlavikrīdita metre which contains the various implications of the term *sattā*. The meanings of as many as 1819 roots are given in the *Gaṇavṛtti*.

"Anundoram published this book chiefy for the benefit of the teachers and the taught in the ṭolas. There is not a single word or

annotation in English in this book. It has also been mentioned in the jacket of the book that, for the common readers, the book was priced at Rupees two, but for the poor pundits, it was to be sold at half the price. From this one can well understand Anundoram's sympathetic concern for the helpless learners of Sanskrit"[113]. For giving it a full classical garb Anundoram gives the following colophon in Sanskrit :

kaumārahāraganakāravivārasāram
śrīdurgasiṁharacitaṁ gaṇavṛttisaṁjñam.
śrīmadramāviracitaṁ ca manoramākhyaṁ
dṛṣṭvā vivicya vicito gaṇavṛttisāraḥ :
bahūni skhalitānyatra pustakānamaśuddhitaḥ.
yojakānāṁ[113a] ca bāliśyāt kṣantavyāni prasādaye :

[Here I have presented a collection (of roots) in the form of a summary (*sāra* ) of the *Gaṇavṛtti* after duly sorting out (*vivicya* ) the material and after having perused (*dṛṣṭvā* ) the *Gaṇavṛtti*, composed by Śrī Durgasiṁha as a summary (*sāra* ) of the more extensive (*vivāra* ) work of the 'author of the classification of the roots' (*gaṇakāra* )[114], belonging to the Kātantra grammar[115] and also the *Manoramā*, composed by Śrī Ramānātha. Many omissions and commissions have occurred here due to the inaccuracies in the mauscripts and the ignorance (*bāliśyāt* ) of the compositors (*yojakānām* ). I beg apology for the same.]

(12) The full title of the next work was '*Amarasiṁha's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, with the commentaries of Xīraswāmi and Rāya Mukuta Vṛihaspati, and extracts from several other commentaries.' This was quiet befitting on the part of Anundoram Borooah to bring out this book because he was the person to get the whole of the *Amarakoṣa* by heart when he was yet a school boy. This is also a very fine specimen of text-critical edition of ancient books, and it was, indeed, one of the pioneering efforts in that direction. Anundoram's text-critical interest is evidence in the very first paragraph of the 15 page learned Preface as he says: "... a critical edition of Amara is considered a great desideratum both in India and in Europe by such scholars as Burnell, Eggeling and Zachariae."

From the list of abbreviations it appears that Borooah consulted and collated not less than 31 manuscripts[116] for this work.

Borooah planned to bring out this book in parts. The first part dealing with the first few verses of the Svargādivarga of Amara was brought out in 1887. In the following year, i.e., in 1888, he published the second part ending with the 5th verse of the 5th *stavaka* of the Svargādivarga, i.e., ending with the clause *Purāṇaṁ pañcalakṣaṇam* of the main text of Amara along with the commentary of Kṣīrasvāmin[117]. Besides presenting the relevant portions of the commentary of Kṣīrasvāmin *in toto* Borooah also presents extracts from several other commentaries, like *Padacandrikā* of Rāyamukuṭa, *Tantra* of Ramānātha, *Sārasundarī* of Vidyālaṁakāra, who refers to himself as Mathureśa, *Kaumudī* of Nayanānandaśarmā, *Vimalā* of Raghunātha, *Mugdhabodhinī* of Bharata, *Śabdārthasandīpikā* of Nārāyaṇa, *Padamañjarī* of Lokanātha, *Pradīpamañjarī* of Rāmeśvara, *Amarapañjikā* of Nārāyaṇa, and *Ṭīkāsarvasva* (?) of Sarvānanda. Borooah's unflinching interest in textual criticism is amply evidenced here by the fact that he points out the variant readings not only in case of the commentary of Kṣīrasvāmin but also in case of the extracts from the other commentators.

The methodology of modern research was yet in its formative state when Borooah wrote these books. As such it is very significant that Borooah also duly applied his mind to constructive thinking with regard to certain problems of the methodology of Sanskritic research. This is warranted by the folowing note on the justification of writing the name of 'Kṣīrasvāmin' as 'Kṣīrasvāmi' and not as 'Kṣīrasvāmī' and nor as 'Kṣīrasvāmin'.

"Stems not ending in vowels are generally expressed in the nominative singular by India scholars. But as we never use it in the case of other words, this practice has not the merit of consistency. There is also some objection in expressing these words by their stems as is done by European scholars, as it is altogether opposed to Indian practice and makes them harsh. I accordingly use the form they assume in compounds, as in such cases they are really used as such"[118].

The main text of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, which covers 138 pages, is preceded by a learned Preface, which contains a critical study of the importance, date and other details relating to a number of works and authors such as Amara, Kṣīrasvāmin, Kātya, Bhāguri, Dhvanvantari, Pālakāpya, Vātsyāyana, Kautilya, Dantila, Śālihotra, *Śūdaśāstra*, Candragomin, Kumārilabhaṭṭa, Jinendrabuddhi and *Dhanurveda*.

An evidence of this book being received well is that Prof. Gopal

Raghunath Nandargikar of Poona, whose 1897 edition of the *Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa* [119] is a landmark in the field of Indian Textual Criticism, and who was already acquainted with Borooah's works such as *Ancient Geography of India* [120], became an advance subscriber of this book and utilised the authority of this book in the matter of the identity of Hemādri[121].

(13) The full title of the last work which was published in 1888 was "*Dhātukoṣa or Dhātupāṭha*, alphabetically arranged, with copious extracts from Madhava, Durga, Vopadeva, and others." This is how it has been noticed by Dr. Bhuyan[122]. But the Publication Board, Assam, has not yet published it and I have also not seen this book[123]. We have seen that the *Dhātuvṛttisāra* has been mentioned as to be "from the Dhātukoṣa of Anundoram Borooah' In the Preface to his *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* also, at least in two places (pp. xvi and xvii), Borooah has referred to this book as "my Dhātukoṣa". Yet with reference to this Dhātukoṣa, Prof. Cecil Bendall, Keeper of Oriental Books, British Museum, London, also in his obituary note had to question as follows :

"What is this Dhātupāṭha ? A projected work of Anundoram's?... I should be obliged if any friend of the deceased scholar would inform me on this point, in order that the work may be properly catalogued in the 'supplementary Sanskrit catalogue', which I am preparing for the British Museum"[124]. Cecil Bendall said so in 1889. And even today this book is eluding us. Even with sustained efforts we could not find this book in all the probable places like the Sanskrit Collage, Calcutta; Calcutta University ; the Asiatic Society, Calcutta ; the National Library, Calcutta; and the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune. In view of this situation we would like to surmise as follows : (i) The Dhatukosa could not be published during the life time of Borooah and perhaps its printing was yet to be completed as on January 29, 1889, the date of Borooah's sad demise. (ii) Dr. S. K. Bhuyan has given long accounts of all the books of Borooah except this one. So far as this book is concerened Dr. Bhuyan gives only the detailed title presumably in the light of an advance announcement made by Borooah. Dr. Bhuyan could not give further details presumably because he did not see the book himself. (iii) From the Prospectus of the Comprehensive Grammar of the Sanskrit Language (Vide Appendix D of the present work) it may be gathered that Borooah proposed to deal with the roots in the seventh volume on the basis of (a)Pānini's Dhatupatha, (b) Nighantu and its commentaries and

(c) Kavikalpadruma. Presumably in the light of this very Prospectus relating to the projected seventh volume of the Comprehensive Grammar, Louis Renou in his *BibliographieVe'dique* (Paris, 1931) has made a reference to Borooah's treatment of the "Roots as given by the Vedic Nighaṇṭu (etc.)" in such a manner which should give us the impression that the volume VII of the Comprehensive Grammar has already been published, while it is obvious that the said volume had never been published. Dr. Bhuyan's reference to the *Dhātukoṣa* appears to bear an analogy with Louis Renou's reference to the treatment of the "Roots as given by the Vedic Nighaṇṭu (etc.)".

The complete reference to Borooah in Renou's book runs as follows : '12. Anundoram Borooah. A Comprehensive grammar of the Sanskrit Language. Calc. '80 et suiv. Du point de vue vé'd., V. not. le vol' vii. "Roots as given by the Vedic Nighantu (etc.)" ct x "Prosody, with a pref. transl, and examination of the Piṅgala Sūtras and the prosodical parts of the Shaunaka Ṛik Prātishākhya (etc.)", 82' (Vide sec.175/12 of Renou's *Bibliographie Ve'dique*, p.228). (iv) Whatever little information is given by Dr. Bhuyan regarding the *Dhātukoṣa* in his *Ānandarām Baruwā* (3rd edn. p.160) seems to be a reproduction of just what he found in the last paragraph of the last page (p. 176) of the first edition of the first part of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* (1887). cf. "In the Press. Dhātukoşa or Dhātupāṭha alphabetically arranged with copious extracts from Mādhava, Durga, Vopadeva and others. "Dr Bhuyan adds also an Assamese rendering of these few lines of Anundoram Borooah.

*Classification of the works of Anundoram Borooah :*

The works of Anundoram Borooah may be classified under the following heads, viz, (1) Original Sanskrit Writings, (2) Critical Writing on Classical Literature, (3) Textual Criticism, (4) Indological Studies, (5) Lexical works and (6) Grammatical Writings.

A critical appreciation of these different categories may now be presented.

*Original Sanskrit Writings:*

This category comprises (i) the *Jānakīrāmabhāṣya*, a commentary in Sanskrit prose, which also contains eighteen verses in Anuṣṭubh metre and (ii) Some more verses belonging to other books as detailed below: In the second volume of the Dictionary

there is a cluster of five verses entitled Mukhabandha. The word mukhabandha may be rendered as 'preface'. The first four verses of this cluser are in S'ārdūlavikrīḍita metre and the last one is in Sragdharā metre. In the third volum of the Dctionary there are five verses divided into two clusters. One verse occurs in the beginning of the book as'Maṅgalācaraṇam' (i.e., an invocation) and it is immediately followed by a cluster of four verses entitled 'Granthavisarjanam' (i.e.,dedication of the book). The last verse of the second cluster is in Anuṣṭubh metre and the other four verses of the third volume of the Dictionary are in Sragddharā metre. In the *Dhātuvṛttisāra* there are two concluding verses, one in Vasantatilaka and another in Anuṣṭubh metre. Thus, there are altogether thirty original Sanskrit verses composed by Anundoram Borooah[125].(iii) The Ṭīkā-type comments given as foot-notes in the *Dhātuvṛttisāra* and the notes given at the end of the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* and the *Vāmana Sūtra Vṛtti* also may be recognised as Borooah's original Sanskrit writings[126].

Anundoram was prompted to write the commentary and the verses in a traditional style presumably because of his respect for the scholarship of the traditional pandits. While at Noakhali he had a Panditasabha of five traditional scholars. He gave them regular honorariums. He also occasionally referred to these Assistants, e.g., (1) in the Preface to the *Saraswatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* he says "I owe to my Head Assaistant Pandit Damodar Kaviratna and Assistant pandit Ramakrishna Vidyabhusana for the first revision of the manuscripts and the first correction of proof sheets". (p.xx). (2) He had a Pandit Agent at Varanasi. For instance, in the Preface to the said work he says : "It is based on a copy prepared under my Benares Agent Pandit Ishan Chandra Tarkaratna... (p. xvii). Borooah refers to the efforts of this very Benares Agent Pandit again in the Preface to the Prosody. (p. vii). (3) In an interview with the Assamese students of Varanasi on 28.11.1927, Borooah's former Asst. Pandit Annadacharan Tarkachudamani said : "I was one of the members of his Pandit Sabha... Borooah tried to arrange some pensions for the Pandits... In his Pandit Sabha there were about a hundered Sanskrit students also. He offered me rupees one hundred as monthly honorarium, though I could never persuade myself to accept the same".

It may perhaps be further presumed that Borooah took to original Sanskrit writing because of the conviction that to have the recognition as a Sanskrit scholar even a modern scholar should have some substantial quantity of original Sanskrit writings to his credit.

Borooah was very critical of the writings of Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall. He did not hold Hall in high esteem because of writing nothing original in Sanskrit as may be gathered from the following sarcastic remark: "We have one original Sanskrit note by Hall (...iti kasyacit ṭippaṇī, p. 111) and it is quite sufficient to shew his acquaintance with the language"[127]. That Borooah compiled the *Practical English-Sanskrit Dictionary* or the *Dhātukoṣa* seems to have been for facilitating the writing of original Sanskrit even by the moden English knowing students of the language. It may be noted with interest that those were the days when even some of the western scholars realised the pleasure of composing original Sanskrit lines or the dignity of following the traditional style in some way or other. For instance, we have the following celebrated lines in Sanskrit from H.H. Wilson, the first Boden Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford :

amṛtaṁ madhuraṁ samyak saṁskṛtaṁ hi tato'dhikam.
devabhogyamidaṁ tasmād devabhāṣeti kathyate :
na jāne vidyate kiṁ tan mādhuryam atra saṁskṛte.
sarvadaiva samunmattā yena vaideśikā vayam :
yāvad bhāratavarṣaṁ syād yāvad vindhyāhimācalau.
yāvad gaṅgā ca godā ca tāvadeva hi saṁskṛtam:[128]

[Ambrosia is really sweet, but, indeed, Sanskrit is sweeter than ambrosia. That is why Sanskrit is delectable for the gods, and it is called Devabhāṣā, i e., the language of the gods. I do not know as to what sort of sweetness is that which belongs to Sanskrit and due to which we the foreigners always remain exceedingly intoxicated. So long as Bhāratavarṣa will last, so long as the Vindhyas and the Himalayas will continue to stand, and so long as the rivers Gaṅgā and Godāvarī will continue to flow, Sanskrit also would definitely be there].

Max Müller also betrays the same aptitude for the traditional stamp in the title page of the first volume of the Ṛgveda published in 1849, which reads as follows :

sāyaṇācāryaviracitamādhavīyavedārthaprakāśanāmakabhāṣyasahitā śarmaṇyadeśotpannenenṛgalandadeśanivāsinā bhaṭṭamokṣamūlareṇa saṁśodhitā śrīmadbhāratavarṣādhipatīnāmanumatyā ca ukṣataraṇābhidhananagare vidyāmandirasaṁsthānamudrāyaṁtrālaye mudritā saṁvat 1906 varṣe. prathamāṣṭakaḥ[129]

Here it is interesting to see how Max Müller has Sanskritised his name. Nirad C. Chaudhuri points out that contrary to the popular belief that the name Mokṣamūla was given by Indian Pandits,

Müller himself assumed the Sanskritised name[130]. Sanskritisation of 'Oxford' as 'ukṣataraṇa' is also very significant.

There is a Sanskrit inscription on the foundation stone laid by the Prince of Wales in 1883 at the portals of the Indian Institute of Oxford University. The fourth verse of the inscription reads :

īśānukampayā nityam āryavidyā mahīyatām.
āryāvaratāṅgalabhūmyośca mitho maitrī vivardhatām:[131]

[By the grace of God let the Aryan learning always remain prosperous, and let the mutual friendship between Āryāvarta and England grow].

More distant in space but nearer in time is the case of the *Atharvaveda* of Whitney. The English translation of the *Atharvaveda* by W.D.Whitney was published by the Harvard University, U.S.A. in 1905. This volume has been edited by C.R.Lanman, who gives an Editor's Preface in half a dozen beautiful Sanskrit verses in Vaṁśasthavila metre. The fifth verse, for instance, runs as follows :

śrīhvitninā karmaphaleṣvasaṁginā
gītopadeśāccaritaṁ prasādhitam.
lokaprasaṁsā kila tena nādṛtā
lokopakāryaikṣata satyameva saḥ :

[Illustrious Whitney, who remained indifferent to the fruits of action, has shaped his character according to the advice of the Gītā. He never craved for popular applause. His only concern was to do good to the human community and as such, his only business was to seek the truth].

*Critical Writings on Classical Literature :*

This category comprises the critical writings on Rāma plays, Sanskrit Prosody and Alaṁkāra works. The most notable feature of Borooah's critical writings is a comparative estimate accompanied by an enquiry of the origin and development of each category and greater emphasis on grammatical issues. Borooah has invariably paid due attention also to the Prakrit portions of all the works concerned[132].

Of all the works of this category the dissertation on Bhavabhūti appears to have greater significance, because as we go through this

work we become inclined to trace out an ontological link of Anundoram with Bhavabhūti, Vālmīki and Rāmacandra the hero.

Anundoram had profound admiration for Bhavabhūti. He begins his dissertation on Bhavabhūti with the following encomium : "The name of Bhavabhūti stands high in Sanskrit liteature. It is perhaps the highest in eloquence of expression and sublimity of imagination. Throughout the whole range of Sanskrit literature-from the simple lessons of Hitopadesha to the most elaborate polish of Naishadha-from the terse vigour of Saṅkarāchārya to the studied majesty of Māgha-from the harmonious grace of Kālidāsa to the ornate picturesqueness of Kādambarī, there is probably no wrier who can come up to Bhavabhūti in his wonderful command of the Sanskrit language[133] and surprising fluency and elevation of diction. The most difficult verses with the most complicated prosody seem to flow from his tongue without interruption-without any effort-without a moment's reflection"[134].

And in the concluding paragraph of the dissertation once again Anundoram praises Bhavabhūti as follows :

"To me, Sanskrit is dearer than any other language... And among the foremost to elevate the language and enrich the literature of ancient India stands the name of our poet Vasyavak Kasyapa Bhaṭṭa Bhavabhūti Śrīkaṇṭha "[135].

Again with reference to the *Jānakīrāmabhāṣya* he says :

"In writing the commentary, my greatest indebtedness is to the Rāmāyaṇa, from which Śrīkaṇṭha himself drew his materials"[136].

With reference to Wilson's observation : In none of his dramas does Bhavabhūti make any attempt at wit, and we have no character in either of his three dramas approaching the Vidūṣaka of either of the two preceding pieces". Borooah says : "It is, however, I believe, universally true that the more deeply a man feels, the more prone he is to look at facts and the less able to humour or jest"[137]. We may, perhaps, observe that similar was the case with Anundoram himself who was always very serious, busy, thoughtful and reserved, and as such hardly prone to indulge in any humour and frivolity of life. Bolinarayan Borrah, one of the pioneer Indian Civil Engineers from Cooper's Hill, England, speaks of Anundoram Borooah as follows :

"He never married. Being wedded to literature alone, he devoted to it all his talents, all his capacity for work, all his energy and all

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"He never married. Being wedded to literature alone, he devoted to it all his talents, all his capacity for work, all his energy and all

his leisure... He sought little recreation, relief, change and variety. He burnt his candle at both ends, and had naturally to pay the inevitable penalty"[138]. And, the life of Bhavabhūti's hero Rāmacandra was also characterised by a similar spirit of sacrifice for the cause of service to his subjects. In Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita*, Rāmacandra says :

snehaṁ dayāṁ ca saukhyaṁ ca yadi vā jānkīmapi.
ārādhanāya lokānāṁ muñcato nāsti me vyathā :

"I shall feel no pain in abandoning affection, mercy and happiness and even Jānakī for the sake of propitiating the people."

Rāmacandra is the greatest ideal that the Indians have been ever aiming at since the days of Vālmīki to the era of Mahatma Gandhi. Anundoram realised the high esteem in which Rāmacandra was held in India, and he himself paid homage to Rāma and Sītā as follows :

nāṭakaṁ vīracāritram —
praṇamya jānakīrāmau sarvabhāratapūjitau.
jānakīrāmasaṁjñena bhāṣyeṇa vivṛṇomyaham:[139]

*Textual Criticism :*

Anundoram Borooah's editions of various ancient texts are characterised by judicious application of the principles of textual criticism. Such texts are : (1) *Mahāvīracarita*[140], (2) The Sūtras of Piṅgala and prosodical parts of the *Ṛk-prātiśākhya* of Śaunaka occurring in the body of the *Prosody*, and the *Āgneyacchandassāra* and Kedārabhaṭṭa's *Vṛttaratnākara* accompanied by Nārāyanabhaṭṭa's Commentary thereupon, appended to the *Prosody*[141]. (3) *Vāmna-Sūtravṛtti*, etc.[142], (4) *Nānārthasaṁgraha*, (5) *Dhātuvṛttisāra*[143], and (6) *Amara's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*. The last named one is by far the best example of text-critical editions presented by Borooah.

Borooah's interest in Textual Criticism is evidenced by certain explicit statements. (1) With reference to the *Rāmāyaṇa* he says, " I have consulted two editions of it - viz., the Italian edition of Gaspar Gorresio and the Bombey edition of Krishnaji Ganapatji. These two editions differ so much from each other that it is high time that a competent scholar should undertake a thoroughly critical edition of

so important a work"[144]. (2) Prosody is recognised as one of the testimonia by saying : "Such comparison is useful... also in showing how far they can be trusted in making corrections and restoring texts"[145]. (3) With reference to the critical edition of *Saraswatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* he says : "The manuscripts are generally written by the Kayastha or writer class utterly ignorant of Sanskrit and I have deemed it unnecessary to add as different readings, what are nothing but copying mistakes:[146]. The principle of not supplying the copying mistakes as variae lectiones has been laid down by no less a scholar than Max Müller and followed by as celebrated an editor as Prof. Nandargikar, as may be gathered from the following words of the latter :

"I think the proper rule to follow is what has been laid down by Dr. Max Müller to give every reading that admits of a meaning, and every blunder in orthography, etymology, or syntax, which is constant, or generally prevailing; but to take no note of what are mere accidental lapses. There are many obvious blunders and lacunae in Mss. which bear no relation to their authors, and for critical purposes are of no value whatsoever. The manner in which due discrimination is made between what are obvious blunders, and what are doubtful and unquestionable variations, marks the distinction between the critical and the uncritical editor"[147].

The whole section entitled 'The Text' occurring in the Preface to *Amara's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* speaks eloquently of Borooah's interest in textual criticism. The first few lines read as follows :

"The text of Amara has been preserved with a fidelity ... the difference of opinion is chiefly about some readings due mostly to similarity of characters. The most curious is probably यादवंधनं of सुभूति for पादबन्धनं of स्वामि. The नागरी य and प are similar, व and ब are generally confused in most of the manuscripts, and बन्धनं would be often written बंधनं. Hence the second reading."

That Anundoram Borooah was a pioneer in the field of Textual Criticism is warranted by the following fact : S.M. Katre gives a list of more notable critical editions of traditional Sanskrit and Prakrit texts. The earliest to be named is the *Mālatīmādhava*, ed. by R.G. Bhandarkar, the first edition of which came out in 1876. The second in order of chronology is *Śakuntalā*, ed. by R. Pischel, the first edition of which came out in 1877. The third in order of time named by S.M. Katre is the *Karpūramañjarī*, edited by Sten Konow in 1901[148]. Thus, the earliest critically edited text was a Bhavabhūti play brought out by Bhandarkar, and the second earliest critically

edited text was also a Bhavabhūti play brought out, in the very following year, by Borooah. It is very interesting to note that both these scholars worked in close co-operation as evidenced by the following statements of Borooah :

(1) "The work in this volume is Vamana Sutravrtti..... It is based on a copy prepared under my Benares Agent Pandit Ishan Chandra Tarkaratna and revised with the help of two manuscripts kindly lent me by Professor R. G. Bhandarkar of Poonah." (*Saraswatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, Preface, p. xvii)

(2)"I owe two manuscripts to Professor R.G. Bhandarkar," (op. cit., p. xviii) and

(3) "I have also to express my obligations to the various educational authorities in India for the liberality with which they have always placed at my service the manuscripts of the various Sanskrit College Libraries. I owe them in Calcutta to Mr. A. W. Croft, the able minister of education...; at Poona, to its reputed Sanskrit Professor R.G. Bhandarkar." (*Prosody*, Preface, p. 140f.)

*Indological Studies :*

This category comprises the *Ancient Geography* and those portions of *Bhavabhūti and his Place in Sanskrit Literature* which deal with the identification of royal dynasties, ancient kingdoms, and place names, etc.

*Lexical Works :*

The three volumes of the *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*, the *Nānārthasaṁgraha*, *Amara's Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, the *Dhātuvṛttisāra* and the *Dhātukoṣa* are the works of this category.

*Grammatical Writings :*

Anundoram Borooah was a very keen student of Sanskrit grammar, and from the traditional point of view, the larger portion of his writings may be reckoned as grammatical.

Traditionally the lexicons form a part of grammar or Śabdaśāstra. Amara calls his work Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana, and this immediately reminds us of Patañjali's initial words : atha śabdānuśāsanam.

*Dhātuvṛttisāra*, *Dhātukoṣa* and *Nānārthasaṁgraha* are concerned with Semantics, which forms a part of Philology or Śabdaśāstra and hence of grammar. Alaṁkāra also used to be reckoned as a part of Śabdaśāstra. As an evidence reference may be made to Vāmana's very serious treatment of grammar in the *Kāvyālaṁkārasūtravṛtti*. Bhaṭṭi composed his kāvya with the sole aim of teaching grammar. But he too deemed it necessary to illustrate the Arthālaṁkāras.

*Footnotes:*

71. *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. xvii.
72. V.S. Apte, *Student's English-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Motilal Banarasidass edn. 1974, Preface to the First Edition, p. 3 and p.8 f.
73. *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*, p. xv.
74. Ibid. p. xvii.
75. Vide, Bhuyan, *Ānandarām Baruwā*, p. 202 ff.
76. Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Ist edn. 1872), 1899, Preface, p. ix.
77. Monier-Williams, *loc. cit.*
78. *loc.cit.*
79. *loc.cit.*
79a. See Appendix B for a detailed account of this Grammar.
80. "In 1816, Franz Bopp (1791-1867), a Bavarian, on the basis of the hints of Sir William Jones, succeeded in very tentatively reconstructing the common ancestor of Sanskrit and the classical languages of Europe, and comparative philology became and independent science." (A.L.Basham, *The Wonder That Was India*, p.6)

    "...It was the discovery of Sanskrit which enabled Bopp, Rask and other scholars of the first half of the last century to establish a clear relationship between the languages of the Indo-European group and to develop the science of comparative philology." (Ibid, p. 386).
81. J.S. Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, E.J. Brill. Leiden. 1886, *Reprinted* by Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1973.
82. S.K. Bhuyan. *op. cit.*, p. 36.
83. A similar interest in Mathematics is betrayed also in the Preface to the *Prosody*, pp. 81-87.
84. *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 3. Cunningham's book referred to here is the *Ancient Geography of India , I. The Buddhist Period*, London, 1871. It contains 589 pages.
85. Preface to the *Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, dtd. Dec. 28, 1890.
86. According to Schuyler one edition by Jivananda came out in 1873. It

is not clear as to why Anundoram does not notice this edition though Jivananda's 1872 edition of the *Prasannarāghava* is duly noticed by him.

87. Anundoram Borooah, *Mahāvīracarita of Bhavabhūti*, Preface, p xxi.
88. *Ibid*, p. xxii.
89. See Supra, p. 4 and Appendix C for the family tree of Anundoram.
90. Vide Anundoram Borooah, *Dhātuvṛttisāra*, Publication Board, Assam, 1977, Appendix II, p. 85 ff.
91. Preface to *Selections from Sanskrit Classics*, p. xi.
92. *loc.cit.*
93. *loc.cit.*
94. *loc.cit.*
95. *loc.cit.*
96. A.A. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, 2nd Indian edn. 1971. Motilal Banarsidass, p. 51.
97. Macdonell, Ibid, p. 48.
98. *loc. cit.*
99. op. cit., p. 51
100. i.e., from Mallinātha.
101. , Borooah, *Selections from Classical Sanskrit*, Preface, p. xii.
102. This is a reference to Pandit Mahesh Chandra Nyāyaratna.
103. Reproduced from Bhuyan, *Ānandarām Baruwā*, p. 191 f. This 'notice' of Cecil Bendall is given as an appendix in most of the books of Anundoram Borooah published by the Publication Board, Assam.
104. It is significant that even before publishing the original books of Anundoram Borooah, the Publication Board, Assam, brought out an Assamese translation of this book on Bhavabhūti, in 1962, under the title *Bhavabhūti Āru Saṁskṛt Sāhityat Teōr Ṭhāi*. The author of the present book was the translator.
105. Published photolithographically by Firma KLM Pvt. Ltd. Calcutta, 1976
106. The Comprehensive Grammar was intended to make a linguistic and historical study of Sanskrit. This calls for the fixation of the traditional texts. It is a matter of common experience of the editors that a knowledge of the metres is so useful for reconstructing the corrupt and mutilated text of the verses of traditional works. That is how Prosody gets the priority. cf. "A thorough knowledge of prosody appears therefore to be esential for all linguistic and historical examinations of Sanskrit. I accordingly issue it first, although historically and for ordinary purposes, its place is most subordinate in grammar." (Preface, p. CXL).
107. See Appendix D.
108. Vide. S.K. Bhuyan, *Ānandarām Baruwā*, p. 207 f.

109. *Ibid*, p. 209.

109a Quoted from a copy of the first edn. available at the National Library Calcutta, vide call No. 180 Pb. 88. I. The number 1.18 in the beginning of the extract implies 'line No. 18 of page No.1'.

110. Borooah wanted to be thorough about everything. But the pity is that because of diversified literary undertakings he could not spare time for more comprehensive studies. That is why in the Preface to *Nānārthasaṁgraha* also he says : "The evidence on which these views are based are so vast and complicated that even under the most favourable circumstances, I cannot hope to give it a systematic shape for several years to come." (p. 20).

111. *Saraswatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, Preface, p. xix.

112. Durgasiṁha is the earliest known commentator of the Kātantra grammar. He also prepared a Dhātupāṭha for the Kātantra system. His date was c. 8th century. *Manoramā* is a commentary on the *Gaṇavṛtti* of Durgasiṁha.

113. Chandra Prasad Saikia, (Secy. Publication Board, Assam) in his Introduction to the 1977 edition, p. iif.

113a In the first edition this word is clearly given as *jojakānāṁ*. But the Publication Board edition wrongly reads *bījakānāṁ*. This is presumably because the letter *yo* was not legible due to perforation made by insects.

114. The more extensive work of the 'Gaṇakāra' is perhaps what is referred to as 'genuine Kalāpa-Dhātusūtra' by Belvalkar, who observes that Durgasiṁha's "Dhātupāṭha is modelled upon that of Candragomin, with only slight modifications. The genuine Kalāpa-Dhātusūtra, which differs considerably from the above [ i.e., Durgasiṁh's Dhātupāṭha], is now reported to exist only in a Tibetan translation." (*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p.75)

115. Kātantra grammar is also known as Kaumāra and Kālāpa. As the story goes, Sarvavarman, the founder of the Kātantra school, received the knowledge of grammar from Kumāra Kārttikeya, a son of Śiva. (Belvalkar. *op. cit.*, p. 69). Thus being associated with Kumāra, the Kātantra is known as Kaumāra. By virtue of being the vehicle of Kārttikeya, the bird Kalāpin (Peacock) is also associated with the said grammar. Hence it got the name Kālāpa. The expression 'Kaumārahāra' literally means 'the carrier (hāra) or vehicle related to Kumāra (Kaumāra)', i.e., the Peacock. Hence, Kaumārahāra means the Kalāpa or Kālāpa system of grammar.

116. These manuscripts were collected from various sources, like India Office, London (18 Nos,) ; Deccan College, Poona (2 Nos) ; and various Pandits belonging to places like Khagra, Durgapur and Nowapara Chittagong. Besides so many manuscripts Borooah also

consulted a number of printed texts and many other authors for whom abbreviations are not used.

117. Both parts have now been published in one volume by the Publication Board, Assam, in 1971.
118. *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, p. 1 (Footnote under Abbreviations).
119. Nandargikar, *Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa*, 4th edn., Published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1971.
120. *Ibid*, p. 120n.
121. *Ibid*, Preface, p.2n.
122. S.K. Bhuyan, *Ānandarām Baruwā*, p. 160
123. Persons concerned often confuse this title with that of the *Dhātuvṛttisāra* noted under serial No. 11 above.
124. S.K. Bhuyan, *Ānandarām Baruwā*, p. 193 f.
125. For the text of all the verses see Appendix E.
126. cf. "avayave avayavīkaraṇe cūrṇīkaraṇe iti yāvat." (*Dhātuvṛttisāra*, p. 47, n 1), and "lokānām ādhīn īrayati dūrīkaroti lokādhīrā ; sa + inā = senāpatisahitā asannā avasādarahitā sannā vā asannā nikaṭavarttinī āram arisamūham. (*Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, p. 357, line 22 ff).
127. *Bhavabhūti and His Place in Sanskrit Literature*, Publication Board edn. p.14
128. These verses occur in the body of a letter to M. M. Jayagopala Tarkalamkara, who first wrote to Wilson expressing his fear that a swan in the form of Sanskrit was going to be killed by a hunter in the form of Macaulay, whose *Education Minute* of 1835 strongly advocated the replacement of the traditional education by English education. MM. Jayagopala joined the Calcutta Sanskrit College as a Professor of Sanskrit when it was established in 1824. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar was one of the most celebrated students of the Mahamahopadhyaya. (Vide Sibanath Shastri, *Ramtanu Lahiri O Tatkalin Bangasamaj*, p. 46)
129. Reproduced Photolithographically at p. 124 of Nirad C. Chaudhuri's *Scholar Extraordinary*, (Delhi, Oxford Univ. Press, 1974).
130. Nirad C. Chaudhuri, *Ibid.*, p. 140.
131. Quoted by V. Raghavan in *Sanskrit and Allied Indological Studies in Europe*, Madras, 1956, p. 68.
132. cf. *Saraswatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, Preface, p. xix, para 5, p. xx,para 6, and the Notes. cf. also *Mahāvīracarita*, Preface, p. xxi, para 1 and para 3. "None of these editions is accompanied with commentary or translation of the *prākṛita* passages, which are absolutely necessary for the elucidation of the text. I have, therefore, thought proper to issue this edition to remove a want much felt by, I believe, all students of Sanskrit." (para 1)

"In the *prākṛita* portion, I have generally followed the English

edition, which mostly agrees with the rules of Vararuchi. But I have printed ব for প, except where it changes into a vowel in the modern dialects or some of them, in which case its *prākṛita* representative is ব and not ব. .For instance, I print বি for অপি because the modern dialects derive ও from it. The view of Professor Cowell (Preface to Prākṛita Prakāsha, page xiv) is different. The Sūtra of Hema Chandra quoted by him, however, quite bears out my remark, for অলাবু, the instance given there, becomes লাউ in Bengali." (para 3).

133. Corresponding to this Borooah gives the following as footnote : "In Vi.I.4., he calls himself *vaśyavāk* and he certainly merits this title as much as the title of *Śrīkaṇṭha* given him by his contemporaries". The word *vaśyavāk* means 'a person who has the goddess of speech at his command', and the word *Śrīkaṇṭha* means 'a person who has Śrī or goddess Sarasvatī at his throat' (See *Jānakīrāmabhāṣya* on *Mahāvīracarita*, I.4 and the passage that follows.)
134. *Bhavabhūti and His Place in Sanskrit Literature*, p. 1
135. *Bhavabhūti and His place in Sanskrit Literature*, p. 54. ( in the volume on *Mahāvīracarita* ).
136. *Ibid*, Preface, p. xxviii.
137. Ibid, p. 54n.
138. S.K. Bhuyan, *Ānandarām Baruwā*, p. 187.
139. *Jānakīrāmabhāṣya*. Introductory verse No. 2. For translation of this verse see note on *Mahāvīracarita*, Supra, p. 31. It may be noted that Anundoram was perhaps predestined to edit a drama connected with Rāma and to write a dissertation on Rāma-plays, because the coincidence that as many as ten members of his family (seven in his own generation and three in the previous generation) contained the word *rāma* in their names and that the names of both of his elder brothers were particularly connected with the Rāma legend, could not have been for nothing .
140. cf. "I also consulted the readings of the sixth act", *Mahāvīracarita*, p. xxi
141. See 'Explanations'given at the beginning of the work *Vṛttaratnākara*.
142. See Preface of *Saraswaṭīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, Publication Board edn.
143. See reference to the manuscripts *Ka* and *Kha* at the close.
144. *Mahāvīracarita*, Preface, p. xxviii
145. *Prosody*, Preface, p. xxxvii
146. *Saraswaṭīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, Preface, p. xviii.
147. Nandargikar, *The Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa*, Critical Notice, p.7f.
148. Katre, *Indian Textual Criticism*, pp. 136, 138.

# Part Three

## *The Personality of Anundoram Borooah*

For making an assessment of the personality of Anundoram Borooah we have to take note of certain events of his life, and certain dominant traits of his character. These may be treated under certain sub-headings:

### *Love for Sanskrit*

The most important guiding factor of the life of Anundoram Borooah was his love for Sanskrit language and literature. In the Preface to his *Companion to the Sanskrit Reading Undergraduates* he says - "If in many or even all these points I am wrong, I am sure the intelligent public will not still cendemn my attempt, as the only means of removing almost the paralized inaction of modern India as regards its ancient literature are attempts like these." (Preface, p. xi). In the Preface to the first volume of the *Dictionary* he calls Sanskrit "the most copious, most refined, most philosophical language of the world" (p.xiv). In the concluding part of the *Bhavabhūti and His Place in Sanskrit Literature* Borooah more passionately declares -"To me, Sanskrit is dearer than any other language. Its music has charms which no words can express. Its capability of representing every form of human thought in most appropriate language is probably not rivalled, certainly not surpassed by any other language. Most touching scences have been drawn in heart-rending words. Mosr noble images have been clothed in most sublime language. Most terrific pictures have been couched in terror-producing expressions."(p. 54).

This statement seems to be very much like an echo of what Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar observed in his *Saṁskṛta Bhāṣā O Saṁskṛta Sāhityaśāstraviṣayaka Prastāba* [149] twentysix years earlier. Vidyasagar said :

"ei apūrba bhāṣāy bhūri bhūri śabda, bhūri bhūri dhātu, bhūri bhūri vibhakti o bhūri bhūri pratyay āche, ebaṁ ek ek śabda o ek ek

dhātute nānā pratyay o nānā bibhaktir yog kariyā bhūri bhūri nutan sadba bhūri bhūri nutan pad siddha karā yāite pāre. erūp abhiprāyai nāi ye ei bhāṣāte sundararūpe byakta karite pārā yāy nā, ebam eirūp biṣayai nāi ye ei bhāṣāte sucārurūpe sañcālita haite pāre nā ...Saṁskṛta bhāṣāy ki saral, ki bakra, ki madhur, ki karkaś, ki lalit, ki uddhata, sarva prakār racanāi samān sundar rūpe sampanna haiyā uṭhe"[150].

In the Preface to the *Prosody* Borooah says : "I shall consider my time most usefully employed, if my work can evoke in India an earnest regard for our ancient literature and a sincere desire to strive honestly to seek out noble truth." (p.140).

Borooah's love for India's past as a whole finds an eloquent expression in the following extract from *Bhavabhūti and His Place in Sanskrit Literature* :

"The whole field of national literature is entirely in our hands and it is much to be regretted that our countrymen do not yet fully see that it is in our power to imporove it to a great extent. The law of supply and demand applies as much to literature as to political economy and school-masters cannot do better than fully impress the truth of this maxim on their students and make them appreciate and love their own history and literature." (p.3n).

Sometimes Borooah even expresses his disgust to see on the part of his countrymen "a widespread abject deference to the language of" the rulers. (*Dictionary* , Preface, p. xxiv).

The Preference for home literature over the literature of the British rulers is unequivocally expressed when he says :

"I hope the day is not distant when our countrymen will care more for our home literature than they now do for Shakespeare and Bacon - for Addison and Johnson."[151]

It is interesting to notice a similar attitude towards the traditional culture of India on the part of another contemporary Indian Civil Servant, Romesh Chander Dutt, who, apart from writing works like *Economic History of India* and *A History of Civilisation in Ancient India*, made the first Bengali rendering of the *Ṛgveda*.. In an introduction to his English version of the *Rāmāyana*[152], S.K.Ratcliffe opines :

"The work of Romesh Dutt is valuable mainly in that it has helped to reveal, to his own people no less than to ours, the spiritual riches of Ancient India."

Incidentally R.C. Dutt is the only person who is referred to by Anundoram Borooah as 'my friend.'[153] R. C. Dutta also in the

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Incidentally R.C. Dutt is the only person who is referred to by Anundoram Borooah as 'my friend.'[153] R. C. Dutta also in the

Preface to his *A History of Civilisation in Ancient India* (1888) refers to Borooah as "my learned friend."

In the said Preface Romesh Chunder Dutt first presents an appraisal of the contributions of the Western Indologists and Sanskritists, viz., Sir William Jones, Colebrooke , Wilson, Burnouf, Rosen, Bopp. Grimm, Humboldt, Roth, Whitney, Bohtlingk, Lassen, Weber, Benfey, Stevenson, Muir, Max Muller, James Prinsep, Haug, Burnell, Buhler and Thibaut. (Vide pp. vii-xii). Then he presents an appreciation of the work done in the area of Sanskrit literature by the more notable ones among his own countrymen, viz., Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanand Sarasvati, Raja Radha Kanta Dev, Dr. Bhao Daji, Prof. Bhandarkar, Dr. K.M. Banerjea, Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra, and Satyavrata Samasramin. This account is concluded with the words : "And lastly , my learned friend, Mr. Anand Ram Borooah, of the Bengal Civil Service, has published a handy and excellent English-Sanskrit Dictionary and is now engaged in a Sanskrit Grammar of formidable size and erudition."

In a footnote under these words Romesh Chunder Dutt was constrained to add also the following obituary : "Since the above lines were written, the author has received the sad intelligence of the death of the talented scholar. His untimely death is a loss to Sanskrit scholarship in this country, which will not be easily remedied. To the present writer, the sorrow is of a personal nature, as he enjoyed the friendship of the deceased for twenty years and more - since the old college days in this country and in England." (This preface is dated, 13.8.88).

Borooah, in fact, took it as his sacred duty as an educated person to work for the preservation of Sanskrit as warranted by the following quotation of a pronouncement made by Frederick Schlegel, given as a motto in the title page of the first edition of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* , part-I :

"It should be the earnest endeavour of every educated person to maintain inviolate the purity of his native language -- to become familiar with the history of its rise and progress."

*Patriotism* :

Another trait of Borooah's personality was patriotism. Borooah was a loyal civil servant. In his earlier works like the *Vīracarita* he takes pride in introducing himself as a civil servant. In the Sanskrit verses prefixed to the second volume of the *Dictionary* the British

rulers are said to be very good patrons of learning and the book is dedicated to the Governor of Bengal. (see verses 4 and 5 in Appendix E). In the *Vīracarita* he describes himself as *bhārateśvarabhṛtya* . In the same book he discloses his identity as one engaged in the administration of Burdwan in the Central Division 'under orders of the Govt. of Bengal.'[154] Yet we may call him a patriot, in the sense that he loved his country in his own way. As an Indian, he had a strong sense of self-respect. As the story goes, when Borooah just started his career as an Asstt. Commissioner at Sibsagar an Assamese gentleman came to visit him from a nearby village. Both of them remained seated in two chairs. Meanwhile Colonel Campbell, the Deputy Commissioner, and a few other Englishmen came in a batch to see Borooah at his residence. Borooah left his own chair and got a few more chairs brought in for the newcomers. But the number was not adequate. The Assamese visitor wanted to leave his chair for the sahibs. Yet while some sahibs were required to remain standing the Assamese visitor was compelled by Borooah to remain seated with the words :"You are an independent citizen, why should you leave the chair ? Please remain seated."[155]

Also in academic issues, Borooah would not stoop before any scholar simply because of his being an Englishman, or an Westerner. This is warranted by the manner in which he adversely and strongly criticises Monier-Williams (*Dictionary*, Preface, pp. 8,11,12,19) or H.H. Wilson (*Bhavabhūti* , p. 43n) or Fitz-Edward Hall (*Bhavabhūti* , p.13n).

Borooah's love and concern for his countrymen is evidenced by another observation of his . With reference to the utility of studying India's own history and literature he says :

"We must act up to it not simply for the literature, but for the vast amount of remunerative work that will be thrown in the hands of our educated class - some of whom are now struggling for life and subsistence. It is easy to cirticize the actions of Government. But people do not see what amount of good they can collectively do." (*Bhavabhūti* , p.3n).

Borooah actually believed in co-operative economic enterprises. That is why he tried to organise a co-operative at Noakhali for foreign trade. It is interestng that though he was such a serious scholar he was also very practical in respect of material aspects of life. Like the skylark of Wordsworth he was 'true to the kindred points of Heaven and Home'[156]. This is evidenced by the fact that

in 1881 he established at 2/1 Bagbazar, Calcutta, his own printing press 'Manirama Yantra'or Manrama Press', so named in memory of his young brother Maniram, who had been sent abroad. The volume of *Prosody*, the Alamkara works and the *Nānārthasaṁgraha* were printed in this very press. Borooah also purchased a house at Berhampore and established there another press called 'Arunodaya Yantra' or 'Arunodaya Press'[157]. The *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* and the *Dhātuvṛttisāra* were printed in this press. Borooah also wanted to purchase the Kalaigaon Tea Estate near Mangaldoi, Assam, and had contacts with Manik Chandra Baruah in this respect. The project, however, did not materialise due to the premature death of the former[158]. Thus, we are inclined to call Anundoram a Patriot because of his sympathy for fellow citizens, because he was so anxious to improve the state of affairs he found in his country, and because he was so proud of his country's past.

But, in India, the spirit of patriotism often operates in two different spheres. In case of some it assumes the form of a love for the province to which one belongs, and in case of others it is a love for the country as a whole. So far as Anundoram Borooah is concerned it is often complained that he did not do anything for his home province Assam and he did not contribute a single line to Assamese literature. This feeling was once so strong in Assam and among the Asssamese that when some of them wanted to hold a condolence meeting at Jorhat immedately after his sad demise others said that "Anundoram did not do anything for Assam, he was in Bengal, he liked only the Bengalis", and thus the meeting could not be held at all[159]. On the otherhand, Babu Thakurdas Mukherji[160] expressed his regret that no one in Bengal took up the task of writing a biography of Anundoram Borooah. He questioned with anguish "Is it because Anundoram Borooah was not a Bengali and belonged to a different province?", and finally claimed that "If Anundoram Borooah is not an Englishman, then he is definitely a Bengali"[161]. But Borooah himself was far above these provincial sentiments. It was rather a matter of regret for him that, to put it in his own words, there was "so little communication and sympathy between the different parts of India"[162].

### *Borooah's Love for Assam*

But it is also not a fact that Anundoram did not have any affection for his home province. It is amply evidenced that he

respected his parents and loved his broters. He dedicated the first volume of the *Dictionary* to his parents with the following words "To the revered memory of my dearest parents Durlabheshvari and Gurgoram Borooah I respectfully dedicate this work with all the admiration of an acquaintance all the affection of a son and all the gratitude of a pupil. A.B. Burdwan, May 9, 1877." He also referred to his parents with great reverence and affection in the Sanskrit verses occurring under serial numbers 7,8,9,10,13 and 14 in the Appendix E below. He found pleasure in introducing himself as a brother of Janakirama and as a sone of Durlabha and Gargarama and as belonging Pragjyotispura :

Jānakīrāmasodaryo durlabhāgarganandanaḥ.
ānandarāmabaḍuyā prāgjyotiṣpurasabhavaḥ :

(*Jānakīrāmabhāṣya* 1.3)

He speaks of himself as a brother of Parasurama, born on the bank of the Lauhitya, i.e., the river Brahmaputra :

bhrātrā paraśurāmasya lauhityataṭajanamanaḥ.
(*Jānakīrāmabhāṣya* , 2.1)

Whenever he finds an occasion he makes a reference to things connected with his home province. For instance , in the very second page of *Jānakīrāmabhāṣya* he makes a reference to a practice of staging a drama on the occasion of a yatra or religious festival, prevalent in Kamarupa. In his *Ancient Geography* he gives a comparatively longer account of Kamarupa, Bhagadatta, Sibsagar and Kamatapur (pp. 68-69).

We may, perhaps presume that Anundoram also did certain things in favour of Assam in an indirect way. During the period 1836 to 1873 a controversy was going on regarding the question of reintroducing Assameses in the schools and courts of Assam. Finally Assamese was reintroduced in the five valley districts under an order of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal sent under a memo dated Calcutta, 9th Aprit, 1873. This communication carried as one of the enclosures a memorandum submitted by R. C. Dutt, Asstt Magistrate and Collector, 24 Pergunnahs[163]. In this memo R.C. Dutt, who was Himself a Bengali, quite unexpectedly advocated that Assamese and Bengali were different languages, and this opinion expressed by no less a person than R.C. Dutt must have

contributed largely towards a decision in favour of the Assamese language. The occasion for R.C. Dutt to write the said memo arose in the following manner : The American Baptist Missionaries were of the opinion that the Assamese language is distinct from Bengali and as such deserves to be reintroduced in the courts and schools of Assam in place of Bengali. *A Dictionary in Assamese and English* [164] by one of the Missionaries. Rev. Miles Bronson, published from Sibsagar in Upper Assam in 1867 was expected to confirm the distinct character of Assamese[165]. But the persons interested in the retention of Bengali attempted to pass 'even this Dictionary as practically a Bengali lexicon marking as many as 591 out of the first 688 words of it as Bengali'. Then the Government sent the said Dictionary to R.C. Dutt for his opinion on the controversial issue. R.C. Dutt also recorded his opinion in the said memo as follows:

"For the purpose of ascertaining the degree of resemblance between the Bengalee and Assamese languages... In going over some 60 pages of the Dictionary... The question I always put to myself was this - is the Assamese word, if written or pronounced by an Assamese, at once intelligible to a Bengali?... and it is precisely in the short, familiar words that the Bengalee totally differs from the Assamese, while the classical words coming from the common parent Sanskrit, are generally to be found in both the languages. It will just be well to mention that, notwithstanding repeated endeavours, I have hardly been able to make out even the purport of the Assamese preface to this Dictionary. I have known an educated young Assamese for many years, and I could never understand him when he spoke Assamese, or quoted from Assamese poetry"[166]. This educated Assamese could be, obviously, none other than Anundoram Borooah, whom R.C. Dutt did not name, perhaps, because that would have smacked of manipulation by the former in fovour of his own mother tongue.

Now it may be questioned that if Borooah had love for Assam then why did he leave this province for good? Dr. Bhuyan attributes this to Borooah's hitch with his British superiors at Sibsagar[167]. The two incidents have already been mentioned. But my personal feeling is that there is room for associating certain other factors also.

(1) Even before leaving for India Borooah had opted for serving in Assam, and that is what brought him to Sibsagar. This confirms his love for the home province. Accordingly he stayed at Sibsagar for some 17 months. While at Sibsagar he started work on his

*Dictionary* . He might have realised that Sibsagar was not a very suitable place for serious studies, being far off from major centres of learning like Calcutta and Varanasi. Moreover, at Sibsagar he could hardly have the scope for discussing problems with traditional Pandits. Even in Bengal he faced similar difficulties in a *mofussil* like Jahanabad as disclosed in his preface to the *Higher Sanskrit Grammar* [168]. That the constant association with Pandits was essential for him may be gathered from the maintenance of a Pandita Sabha and references to Pandit Assistants and Pandit Agents. Thus, it appears that he preferred to be in Bengal mainly for the convenience of studies[169]. And, when Assam was made a separate province he thought it to be the high time to opt for the Bengal cadre once and for all.

(2) But the issue is rendered somewhat enigmatic by another related matter. Colonal Zalnur Ali Ahmed was a school mate of Anundoram. Both passed the Entrance Examination together and studied in Calcutta and England contemporaneously. In England they were close friends and used to live together for some time in a suburban village for the convenience of studies. Back in India both opted for serving in Assam. They were both invited to the party thrown in hnour of Col. Keatings, and both had the same dose of humiliation. But Zalnur Ali also left Assam perhaps at the same time with Borooah; because, in the list of the advance subscribers of the *Dictionary* of Borooah Ali is mentioned as the Civil Surgeon of Naya Dumka[170]. Ali also served for the rest of his life outside Assam. This being the story of both of the friends, we are prompted to surmise that after their continuous stay in cities like Calcutta and London they found it difficult to adjust themselves with the general atmosphere of the backward province of Assam.

(3) So far as Anundoram is concerned there may be another reason. When he came home from England he was not allowed to enter the main house. He was stationed outside in a tent. He was asked to have a *prāyaścitta* first and then mix freely with the rest of the family. He could not agree to this on principle. He was asked by his father to get married forthwith. He could not oblige his father on this count as well. In this way, a rift had arisen between himself and his home. As a result even while serving in Assam he would have been compelled to keep at a distance from his own family. This situation might have proved unbearable and hence, Anundoram might have taken recourse to escapism. And later on he became so much engrossed in his literary undertakings that he did not have the required time to come home[171].

It may, however, be pointed out here that from the manner in which he refers to his own surname in Sanskrit it appears that Anundoram used to behave more as a Bengalee than as an Assamese and he had a greater love for the Bengali culture. Apparently there is otherwise no reason for his changing the surname Baruvā to Vaḍuyā, e.g., in the third verse of the *Jānakīrāmabhāsya* or in the title page of the *Dhātuvṛttisāra*. Yet in fact this manner of writing the surname need not be taken as an index to Borooah's greater love for Bengal or the Bengali culture, because it was quite in vogue in Assam and Assamese to write the surname *Baruvā* as *Baḍuvā* and *Baḍuyā* as may be warranted by the following inscriptions of Assam chosen at random from the *Prācyaśāsanāvalī*:

No. 10 of 1667 A.D. having Baḍabaḍuvā in Sanskrit
No. 15 of 1701 A.D. having Baḍabaḍuvā in Sanskrit
No. 74 of 1764 A.D. having Baḍabaḍuvā in Sanskrit
No. 76 of 1765 A.D. having Baḍuyā in Assamese
No. 101 of 1816 A.D. having Baḍuyā in Assamese
No. 104 of 1822 A.D. having Baḍuvā in Assamese.

*Impact of Anundoram's Ideal*

Initially, the Assamese could not persuade themselves to appreciate the contributions of Anundoram. In course of time, however, they started to realise his worth and some of them started to write his biography. The earliest notable attempt in this direction was made by Lambodar Bora, a near contemporary of Anundoram. But Bora's project could hardly be executed, when he also died prematurely[172]. Finally, it was Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, who alone could write Borooah's only notable biography in 1920 after sustained and intensive investigations carried on for many years. That is how we owe a lot to Dr. Bhuyan, who is also another illustrious son of Assam. The Assamese Students' Literary Club of Calcutta instituted an Anundoram Borooah Memorial Gold Medal Essay Competition in Calcutta University ; the Lawyers of Assam have instituted the Anundoram Borooah Law Lectures and the Govt. Sanskrit College of Assam has instituted the Anundoram Borooah All-Assam Inter-College Sanskrit Debating Competition. The best example of Anundoram's impact may perhaps be found in the life and works of another savant K.K.Handiqui[173], who dedicated his very first book, the celebrated translation of the

*Naisadhacarita*(1934), to Anundoram with the following words:

To
the Memory of
Anandaram Borooah, I.C.S.
Author of *A Higher Sanskrit Grammar, Prosody, English-Sanskrit Dictionary* , etc
One of the Pioneers of Sanskrit Research in India.

## *Anundoram Borooah's Outlook on Serious Studies*

It is not only that Handiqui had some admiration for the pioneering works of Anundoram Borooah, but in fact, in some respect, the former was a prototype of the latter. About Anundoram, Bolinarayan Borrah says :

"At home in his private work, he was constantly in company of learned Pandits, and in correspondence with Indian and European scholars. He had a few intimate friends too, though they must necessarily be few, for he did not seek cheap popularity by playing to the gallery, or by showing himself all over the shop, or by making speeches at the slightest provocation"[174].

This applies to Handiqui also except for the fact that he would not like to have the company of even the learned Pandits and would like to read and write all alone. Handiqui would not have even as much social contact as Borooah had. Handiqui also had very few friends. He has dedicated his *Setubandha* in memory of Adinath Neminath Upadhye with affectionate regards, and the only person whom he has mentioned as his friend, and that too in several places, is Dr. P. K. Gode, Curator , Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. It is needless to point out that Anundoram Borooah, K.K. Handiqui and P. K. Gode[175] belong teperamentally to the same class of very serious scholars.

In his serious studies Anundoram Borooah was guided by a difinite philosophy. An idea of this may be gathered from the following stray statements :

(1) Borooah was seeking knowledge for the sake of knowledge itself. He wrote : "I have now the pleasant duty to thank warmly my friends and critics, who have encouraged the continuance and publication of this work. Knowledge for itself is so little valued in this country... that I cannot too highly express my obligations for such encouragement and advice". (*Dictionary* , p. xxiv).

(2) Borooah understood that the expanse of knowledge is limitless as he said: "The more you read, the more extensive becomes the sphere of your study, the more painfully conscious you are of your ignorance and the extreme limitedness of your knowledge. The more you go over the same work, the deeper you study the same subject, the more convinced you are how shortsighted were your old views and how highly they needed the light of your further study. The more you consult the labours of your fellow-workers, the more you consider the different standpoints from which the same question may be viewed, the more glaring are your shortcomings and the defects of your work.". (*Ancient Geography* , p. 1)

(3)It was Borooah's Principle to take all pains to find out all the particulars of even a small item of this vast expanse of knowledge, as is evidenced by his remark:

"I am indebted to the whole of my establishment for the preparation of this part in some shape or other. But it will be injustice to myself if I were to deny the immense amount of time and labour that has cost me in carefully considering every particle of evidence connected with this vast subject." (*Nānārthasaṃgraha*, p. 50)

(4) It was a principle of Borooah to accept a reasonable statement even from a child. But he would not hesitate to set aside, in the manner of setting aside a piece of grass, even a statement made by Brahma if it does not happen to be reasonable. This is warranted by the following quotation (Yo. II, xviii.3) given as a motto in the title page of his *Prosody* :

yuktiyuktam upādeyaṁ vacanaṁ bālakādapi .
anyat tṛṇam iva tyājyam apyuktaṁ padmajanmanā :

(5)Borooah was a seeker of truth and he found pleasure in finding out whatever amount of truth he could with his limitations. This is clear from his words :

"The great grammarian and lexicographer Puruṣottama Deva writes :

"kāvyādīnām anantatvāt śabdādīnāṁ viśeṣataḥ.
kva kadā kena kiṁ dṛṣṭam iti ko veditum kṣamaḥ:"

It has been impossible to satisfactorily explain all the difficulties I have met. That there will be many errors even in those parts I consider correct is more than probable. But it will be my greatest

satisfaction if I have been able to add a few truths to our knowledge and to open up an endless field for the consideration of our countrymen." (*Nānārthasaṁgraha*, p. 51)

(6) Borooah believed that the difficulties encountered in the search for truth themselves yielded pleasure. For he says :

"A poet has said-

prārabhyate na khalu vighnabhayena nīcaiḥ
prārabhya vighnavihatā viramanti madhyāḥ.
vighnaiḥ punaḥ punarapi pratihanyamānāḥ
prārabdham uttamaguṇās tvamivodvahanti:[176]

I cannot say this is quiet correct, but it must be admitted that the sentiment is good. It is a pleasure to encounter and get over such difficulties." (*Ancient Geography*, p. 93).

(7) The following quotation of a pronoucement of Professor Seeley, given as a motto in the title page of the edition of his *Nānārthasaṁgraha* shows how Borooah believed in the desirability of being serious and how he himself meant to be serious :

"Ask yourself questions; set yourself problems; your mind will at once take up a new attitude; you will become an investigator; you will cease to be solemn and begin to be serious."

(8) That serious studies have the potentialities to give us the perfect bliss is very convincingly advocated as follows :

"There are philosophers who see no good except in material comforts and who would, if they could, put down with a high hand all classical studies. They forget that mind is the seat of all pleasure — that there are purer and loftier pleasures than matter can ever afford — and that so long as man and mind are constituted as thay now are, knowledge will ever continue to be the most prolific source of human happiness." (*Nānārthasaṁgraha*, p. 18).

## *Anundoram's Devotion to God*

Anundoram did not agree to the performance of a *Prāyaścitta*. But this need not mean that he was irreligious. Perhaps he did not believe in certain formalities or rituals. But it is indisputable that he had faith in God. This is warranted by at least two evidences: (1) Firstly, the *maṅgalācaraṇa* verse, i.e., the invocatory verse at the beginning of the *Dictionary* (vol.3). And (2) Secondly, the concluding verse of the *Jānakīrāmabhāṣya* which reads –

samāptimagadeṣā staumīśaṁ karuṇāmayam.
viduṣaḥ prārthaye caitat doṣaḥ sarvatra mṛṣyatām :

[This work has come to an end. I pay my homage to the Lord who is full of grace. I also solicit the scholars for the favour of condoning all the blemishes.]

And with these words I also seek your leave to conclude my appreciation of Anundoram Borooah.

samāptimagamadeṣā staumīśaṁ karuṇāmayam.
viduṣaḥ prārthaye caitat doṣaḥ sarvatra mṛṣyatām :

*Footnotes:*

149. First read in a session of the Bethune Society. Subsequently published as a booklet in 1853.
150. Quoted by Saumyendranath Sarkar in *Bangali Jibane Vidyasagar*, p. 60.
151. *Bhavabhūti and His Place in Sanskrit Literature*, p. 3.
152. Orient Paperback edn. This opinion is dated, 13.8.1899.
153. *Dictionary*, Preface, p.xxiv.
154. adhunā madhyame bhāge vardhamānābhidhe pure.
dṛṣṭena rājakāryyāṇi vaṅgaśāsakaśāsanāt : (V.20 in Appendix E)
155. S.K. Bhuyan, *Ānandarām Baruwā*, p. 50f.
156. W. Wordsworth, 'To the Skylark' vide *Palgrave's Golden Treasury*, Bk. iv.
157. Incidently, 'Arunoday' was the name of the first Assamese newspaper, which has been regularly published from 1846 to 1882.
158. Praphulladatta Goswami, *Manik Chandra Baruwa*, p. 19f.
159. As recorded by Upendranath Barua, quoted by S. K. Bhuyan in *Anandaram Baruwa*, p. 100.
160. *Sahitya*, Vol. I, 1297 Bengali Sal.
161. S.K. Bhuyan, *Ānandarām Baruwā*, p. 217
162. *Dictionary*, Preface, p. xxiv.
163. Vide *Bengal Educational Proceedings*.
164. Reprinted in 1983 in collaboration with Assam Sahitya Sabha by Omsons Publications, New Delhi.
165. In the Preface to his Dictionary Bronson observes : "Assamese is the language usually spoken by the entire population of the Brahmaputra Valley, and in more cases it is the only medium of intercourse with the bordering hill tribes."
166. Quoted by Dimbeswar Neog in his *New Light on History of Asamiya*

*Literature*, p. 347f. with the following parenthesis: "Memorandum by Mr. R. C. Dutt, preserved in the Assam Secretariat Records, reproduced with permission."

167. S.K. Bhuyan, *Ānandarām Baruwā*, p. 51f.

168. *Ibid.*, p. 122. In those days Jahanabad was a sub-divisional town in Gaya district of Bengal.

169. This was the view expressed also by Payodhar Barua of North Guwahati at the age of 85, two decades ago. Vide the *Dainik Asom* of 19.1.70.

170. Supra, p. 13 para (1) n. 51

171. Max Müller was such a great lover of India. But yet he could not visit India even for once."When he was young, he had no money to make a trip to India and later he had no time..." (*Dialogue 72/73*, p. 12).

172. An article on Anundoram by Lambodar Bora was Published in the Assamese periodical *Bijulee* (Vol.2) in 1892. Vide *Lambodar Bora Racanāvalī*, ed. by Nanda Talukdar, Publication Board, Assam, 1983, pp. 40-45. Another article on Anundoram by Hem Chandra Gowami came out in the Assamese magazine *Ushā* (Vol. 3, No.3). Vide Padmanath Gohain Baruah, *Jivanī-Saṅgraha*, first published 1925; first Publication Board, Assam, edn., 1969. See also *Pandit Hem Chandra Goswami Racanāvalī*, ed. Benudhar Sarma, Assam Sahitya Sabha, Jorhat, 1972.

173. It is already pointed out that Borooah had great interest in textual criticism. Likewise Handiqui also had a keen interest in this branch of research. Handiqui's interest in textual criticism is warranted, for instance, by the fact that he translated the *Naiṣadhacarita* with the help of eight commentaries and each commentary was available in more than one manuscript containing mutually varying and mostly corrupt texts, because of which it became the primary task of the translator to be a critical editor of the texts of the commentaries for arriving at the most dependable materal to be used for his main purpose of translating the *Naiṣadha*. Borooah's interest in lexical works is most conspicuous. Handiqui's interest in lexical works is evidenced by the 'Glossary' appended to his translation of the *Naiṣadha*.

174. Vide S.K. Bhuyan, *Ānandarām Baruwā*, p. 187f.

175. Gode expired in 1961 at the age of seventy. This author of 475 most original reserch papers, whose writings run into nine volumes of 550 pages each, remained so deeply engrossed in serious studies that he did not find time to travel and not even to go to Bombay.

176. This is a quotation from *Mudrārākṣasa* (2.17).

# ABBREVIATIONS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Abbr.* | = | Abbreviation |
| *AncientGeography* | = | *Ancient Geography of India* by Anundoram Borooah, as published by the Publication Board, Assam. |
| Apte | = | *The Student's Sanskrit-English Dictionary* by V.S. Apte. |
| *Bhavabhūti* | = | *Bhavabhūti and His Place in Sanskrit Literature.* |
| *Dictionary* | = | *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* of Anundoram Borooah, as published by the Publication Board, Assam, or the first edtion. of the said Dictionary in three Volumes. |
| ed. | = | edited |
| edn. | = | edition |
| *Geography* | = | *Ancient Geography of India* |
| MLBD | = | Motilal Banarsidass |
| P. Bd. | = | Publication Board, Assam. |
| *Prosody* | = | *A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sanskrit Language*, Vol. X by Anundoram Borooah, Published by Firma KLM Pvt Limited, Calcutta. This book is, however, called simply *Prosody* in the P. Bd. edn. References to *Prosody* in the present essay would mean references to the P. Bd edn. |

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2. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sanskrit Language*, Vol. X, (Prosody), 1882, reprinted photolithographically by Firma KLM, Calcutta, 1976. (This book now appears under the title *Prosody* as published by P. Bd., 1969).
3. *Ancient Geography of India*, P. Bd., 1971 (The first edn. appeared as a Preface to the third volume of the *Dictionary* containing 157 pages. See No. 6 below.)
4. *Bhavabhūti and His Place in Sanskrit Literature*, P. Bd., 1971. (This book occurs also as Prefixed to the P. Bd. edn. of the *Mahāvīracaita*. References in the present essay are to be understood as references to the prefixed edition).
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6. *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*, P. Bd., 1971 (This was originally called *Practical English-Sanskrit Dictionary* and was published in three volumes : Vol. I, A to Falseness, pp. 1-580, 1877
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# APPENDIX A

[Reproduced from a photocopy of a transcript (of the original note) preserved in the Archive of the Government of Assam.]

1873
No. 186, dt. 8th July.
Secy. to the Govt. of B. (Statl. Dept.)

Referring to your Cir. No. 29 dt. the 12th June, 1873 (Statistical Deptt.), sanctioning the entertainment of clerks by the Civil Surgeons of the Districts referred to in the Resolution which accompanied your Cir. No. 10 of the 27th March, 1873, may I invite attention to the correspondence noted in the margin and solicit the early orders of Govt. on the proposition for the entertainment of clerks by the Civil Surgeons in Assam,

from Commr. to Govt.
No. 165, dt. 6th May

from Govt. of Bengal
Commr. No. 490, dt. 27th June

I have
sd. Henry Hopkinson
G. G. A. & Commr.

No. G 187 dt. 8th July
Govt. of Bengal
General Dept.

Sir,

I have the honour to report for the infn. of Govt. that Mr. A. Borooah, Asstt. Commr. of Seebsauger, made over charge of his office to the D.C. on the afternoon of the 10th June, to enable him to avail himself of the one month's examn. leave granted him in Govt. letter No. 10 LE of the 9th May, 1873.

I have
sd. Henry Hopkinson
A. G. G. & Commr.

# APPENDIX B

## AN ACCOUNT OF THE THREE VOLUMES OF THE *DICTIONARY* IN THEIR FIRST EDITION.

The three volumes of the *Practical English-Sanskrit Dictionary* in their first editions are now not easily available. The Publication Board, Assam, has done a very good job by publishing the main texts of the three volumes in one volume. Many things of the first edition of the three volumes of the *Dictionary* now do not occur in the Publication Board edition. For instance, the Sanskrit verses composed by Anudoram Borooah himself and occuring as a *mukhabandhaḥ* in the second volume now do not find place in the composite single volume *Dictionary*. The prefaces of the second and the third volumes also are not fully reproduced in the composite volume. The essay on the *Ancient Geography of India*, given as a Preface to the third volume, which now does not find place in the composite volume, has since been published by the Publication Board, Assam, as a separate book. But the supplementary treatise on *Higher Sanskrit Grammar*, which formed a part of the Preface to the second volume now occurs neither in the composite volume, nor as an independent work. Thus the Publication Board edition cannot give a full idea of the original three volumes of the *Dictionary*. Hence a short account of the three volumes is given below:

Vol. I: *A PRACTICAL ENGLISH-SANSKRIT DICTIONARY*

By Anundoram Borooah, B.A., B.C.S., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-At-Law, Vol. I. A to FALSENESS, Calcutta, 1877. The Dedication and Preface are dated, Burdwan, May 9, 1877. The book is dedicated by the author to his parents. The Dedication is followed by a Preface (10 pages), Abbreviations of the names of works (4 pages), other abbreviations (2 pages), Additions (1 page), Corrections (8 pages). There occurs also a list of subscribers, which is faithfully reproduced below:

### List of Subscribers

(N.B.: Those who have expressed their desire of taking this book, but whose names do not appear in this list will be good enough to apply to my agents.)

His Excellency the Viceroy
Professor Max Müller
W.J. Money, Esq., Manager of the Cooch Behar Raj, Cooch Behar
L.W. Hutchinson, Esq., Small Cause Court Judge of Kustea, Chooadanga and Pabna
R.H. Dawsey, Esq., Magte. - Collr., Mymensing
Syed Mahammad Israil, Dy Magte., Kishoregung
Babu Bepin Behari Mukerjea, Manager of the State of the late Babu Ramkishore Acharjea of Muktagacha
Babu Durga Charana Ghose, Pleader, Mymensing
" Chandra Kumar Ghose, " "
" Kali Shankar Guha, " "
Moulvee Hamid-ud-din Ahmed, B. A., Pleader, Mymensing
Babu Ganga Dass Guha, Pleader, Mymensing
" Shama Charan Roy, B. L., Pleader, Mymensing

The main text of the *Dictionary* contains 580 pages. This volume does not contain any Sanskrit verse composed by Borooah himself.

Vol. II. FALSIFICATION TO OYSTER, with a supplementary treatise on *HIGHER SANSKRIT GRAMMAR OR GENDER AND SYNTAX*.

The volume begins with a cluster of five Sanskrit verses in praise of the Sanskrit language, The Englishmen and the Governor of Bengal to whom the book is dedicated in the fifth verse. The verses are printed in red letters, and the whole cluster bears the 'heading' *Mukhabandhaḥ*. These verses are now given int he Appendix-E under sl. No. 1-5.

The *Mukhabandhaḥ* is followed by a PREFACE, which has two parts, the first part being in the form of the *Higher Sanskrit Grammar* (pp.1-296 and one and haltf page of corrections) and the second part being a Preface to the *Dictionary* proper (11 1/2 pages). The text of the *Dictionary* proper runs from p. 581 to p. 1060 (These page-numbers are in continuation of the page-numbers of the main part of the first volume).

Vol III: *P to Z*, with a Prefactory essay on the *Ancient Geography of India* . This volume begins with an invocatory verse entitled *Maṅgalācaraṇam* followed by four more verses unde the 'heading' *Granthavisarjanam* (Vide Sl. No. 6-10 in Appendix - E).

The Preface runs for 157 pages followed by half page of corrections and the *Dictionary* proper (p. 1061 to p. 1508). The main text is followed by a list of 'Geographical names' (4 pages),'Additions' (1 1/2 page), corrections (1 1/2p) and a short of review presented with the heading : 'The London Academy of 14th Feb. 1880 on the author's Dic. Vol II (2 pages).

*THE HIGHER SANSKRIT GRAMMAR*, published independently is just a reproduction of the printed files of the first part of the PREFACE of the *Dictionary*, Vol. II. Hence, this book also begins with the same cluster of Sanskrit verses printed in red letters. The table of contents is given below in a somewhat condensed form :

**PART I : GENDER**

CH. I. Substantives
Sec. I. Preliminary
Sec II. General rules
Sec III. Rules according to signification
Sec IV. Rules according to terminations

CH. II. Adjectives
Sec. I. Preliminary
Sec II. Primitive Adjectives
Sec III. Verbal Derivatives
Sec IV. Nominal Derivatives
Sec V. Predicative Compound
Sec VI. Other Compound Adjectives

CH. III. Feminines of Animals

**PART II : SYNTAX**

CH. IV. Preliminary
CH. V. Numbers
Sec. I. The Singular
Sec. II. The Dual
Sec. III. The Plural
CH. VI. Person

CH. VII.
Sec. I Gender
Sec II. Apposition
Sec III. Nominal Predicate

CH. VIII. Concord
Sec. I. The Verb and the Subject
Sec II. The Substantive and Adjective
Sec III. The Relative and its Antecedent

CH. IX
Sec. I. The Nominative
Sec II. The Vocative

CH. X The Accusative
Sec. I. Verbal Object
Sec II. Descriptive Object
Sec III. Double Object
Sec IV. Object after Passive Verbs
Sec V. Accusative with Verbs of Motion
Sec VI. Accusative of Time and Space
Sec VII. Other Uses.

CH. XI. The Instrumental (4 Sections)
CH XII. The Dative (3 Sections)
CH. XIII. The Ablative (7 Sections)
CH. XIV. The Genitive (7 Sections)
CH. XV. The Locative (6 Sections)
CH. XVI. Prepositions (8 Sections)
CH.XVII. Adjectives (3 Sections)
CH.XVIII. Pronouns (6 Sections)
CH. XIX. Verbs (7 Sections)
CH. XX. Verbal Derivatives (7 Sections)
CH. XXI. Particles
CH.XXII. On the order of Words
CH.XXIII. On the Figurative Language and Use of Vedic Idioms.

## APPENDIX A : COMPOUNDS

i PREDICATIVE "
ii DETERMNATIVE "
iii COPULATIVE "
iv INDECLINABLE "
v GENERAL REMARKS

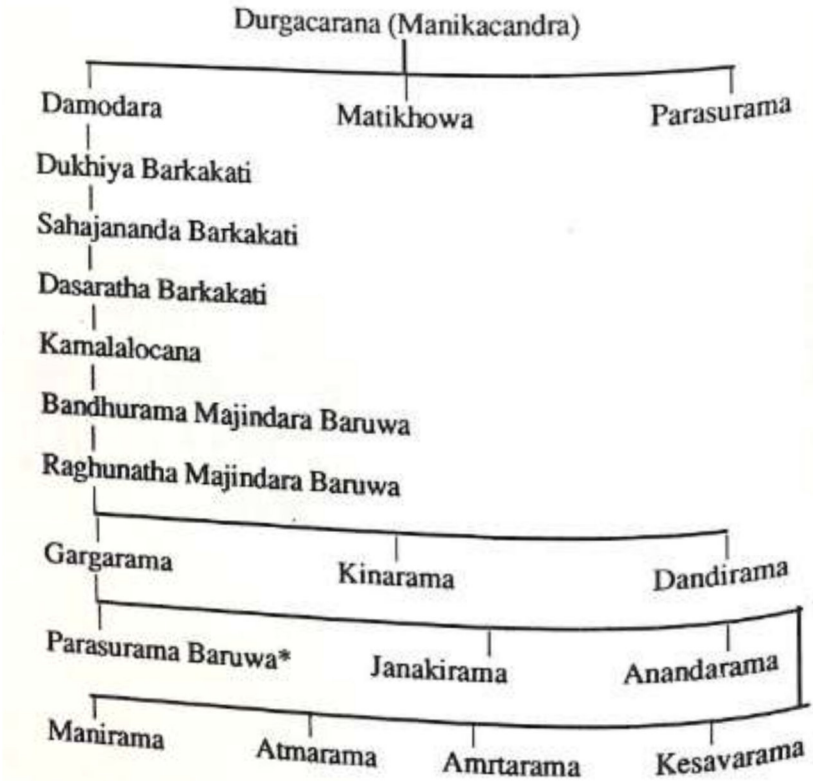
## APPENDIX B : ON THE PECULIARITIES OF SOME VERBS

Sec. i ATMANEPADI
Sec. ii PARASMAIPADI.

The above table of contents is reproduced from a copy of the Grammar availale in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library with Ref. No. AS. G. 8. The text of this book as on 10.8.1991 was available only up to p. 290. There should be another six pages covering the second and final section of Appendix B, and the text of these pages may, however, be restored with the help of the last few pages of the Grammar as it occurs as a part of the Dictionary Vol. II, a copy of which is also available in the Calcutta Sanskrit College Library in a brittle and mutilated condition with Ref, No. C 11.

# APPENDIX C

The Family-tree of Anundoram Borooah (Reproduced from S. K. Bhuyan's *Ānandarām Baruwā* ). This Table shows only the male members of the Family:




* *N.B.* : 1. All the seven names in this generation contain the surname 'Baruwa'.

2. Here the names are given with a faithful English transliteration of the Assamese words which constitute the names. In practice, however, the names are written in English with different spellings, e.g., 'Anundoram Borooah' for 'Anandarama Baruva.

# APPENDIX D

## A Comprehensive Grammar of the Sanskrit Language

*Prospectus of the work :*

In course of publication a Comprehensive Sanskrit-Grammar in 12 volumes , royal octavo. Its object will be to simplify the rules of Grammar as far as possible, to examine their historical growth and illustrate them fully from the existing literature both ancient and modern, and to offer a complete commentary on all the Vedas.

1-2. The preface will comprise the first two volumes of about 1,000 pages each.

The Aṣṭādhyāyī Sūtras, Vārtika Sūtras, Uṇādi Sūtras, Phiṭ Sūtras, Liṅgānushāsana Sūtras, will be quoted, translated and examined, with extracts from the Shikshā and Vedic Prātishākshyas. The Vedic vocabulary (Nighaṇṭu) and Yāska's views (Nirukta) with Devarāja's explanations (Nirvacana) will be fully reproduced and in the material parts compared with the explanations of Vedic commentators. Pāṇini will be still further illustrated by complete exhibition of his Gaṇapāṭha and reproduction of material parts of Patañjali, Vāmana, and Bhaṭṭoji Dīkshita and where necessary compared with classical commentators and occasionally with modern grammarians.

3. The third volume will treat of letters and their changes. It wil be prefaced with Nānārtha-saṅgraha of practical arrangement and examination of Amara, Hem Chandra, Medinī, Vishwa, Trikāṇḍa Shesa, Hārāvalī, Anekārtha, Halāyūdha and Avyaya Koṣas. It will consist of about 1,000 pages.

4-6. The fourth to sixth volumes will treat of (1) roots, (2) Primary and (3) Secondary derivatives. Each volume will consist of about 1,000 pages.

7. The seventh volume will treat of verbs, and will consist of about 1,000 pages. It will be prefaced with alphabetical arrangement and historical examination of roots as given by Sanskrit authorities.
(1) Pāṇini's Dhātupāṭha (2) Nighaṇṭu and its commentaries
(3) Kavikalpadruma

8. The eighth volume will comprise three parts (1) Compounds, (2) Declension and (3) Syntax. It will consist of about 1,000 pages.

9. The ninth volume will treat of accent and will consist of about 500 pages.

10. The tenth volume will treat of Prosody and will consist of about 500 pages. It will be prefaced with translation and examination of Piṅgala Sūtras as explained by Halāyūdha and as regards Vedic metres with further exhibition of the views of Shaunaka as explained by Sāyaṇa. It will be supplemented by the first publication of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's commentary of the Vṛitta Ratnākara.

11. The eleventh volume will consist of explanatory tables and will consist of about 500 pages. It will be issued in two parts, the first part with the first published volume and the second part with the last volume.

12. The twelfth volume will be the Index and will consist of about 2,000 pages royal octavo or 1,000 pages royal quarto.

The work will be published in complete volumes. The volume on Prosody will be first published followed by the volume on verbs.

# APPENDIX E

Sanskrit Verses Composed by Anundoram Borooah

(Verse numbers are given serially for the convenience of reference.)

## मुखबन्धः

(Occurring in red ink in the second volume of the *English-Sanskrit Dictionary* and in the *Higher Sanskrit Grammar*.)

यस्यामादिकविः पवित्रचरितं रामस्य दिव्यं व्यधात्
यस्याश्चित्ररसा विचित्ररचना बाभाति कादम्बरी ।
या भाष्ये गहनां धियं वितनुतेऽभीशं परां शाङ्करे
जीव्यात् साप्रलयं समुज्ज्वलतरा संस्कारपूता गिरा ।।१।।

यस्यै शुद्धविबुद्धसौगतमतं पृथ्व्या महद् धार्यते
रेमे तैमुरवंशमूषणमतीवानन्दयित्र्या यया ।
या शर्मण्यकवीशचित्तमहरद् ग्रन्थेन तेन क्षणात्
सा नो भारतभारती श्रुतिसुधां सर्वत्र कीर्यात् सदा ।।२।।

यामाश्रित्य बपा विदेशजनिनोदाभावि शास्त्रं नवं
भिन्नानां वचसां प्रदर्श्य सुतरां सम्बन्धसारं स्फुटं ।
आर्याणां विषये निरस्तमहिमाऽनार्यैरिदानीन्तनैर्
उत्थासीष्ट पुनस्तमामतिरुचा सार्या गिरा मञ्जुला ।।३।।

येषां धीनयमार्गणैर्भुजबलैः सर्वत्र भूः सन्नता
येषां विश्वजनीनदर्शनगुणैः सर्वाः कलाः पोषिताः ।
येषामाग्रहसंभृता जयति सा पौरातनी भारती
तेषां द्वीपभुवां ततो दृढतरा भूयाद्रतिर्भूयसी ।।४।।

तेषां प्राधान्यजुष्टं विविधगुणयुतं बङ्गबन्धुं समीड्यं
बङ्गानां शासितारं नवविधिविधिना भारतीं द्योतयन्तं
भारत्या ज्ञानलब्ध्यायतिशयसरलं संस्कृतं शब्दबोधं
बङ्गोच्चेतं नियुक्तस्तमुप सहृदयं नेडनं नाहरामि ।।५।।

## मङ्गलाचरणम्

(Occurring in the third volume of the *English-Sanskrit Dictionary*)

यस्यैश्वर्यं न चिन्त्यं जगदिदमखिलं भासयत्युच्चमुच्चं
यस्यास्तित्वं न दृश्यं प्रकटितमनिशं शोभनं भूतजातैः ।
वैचित्र्यं यस्य सृष्टेः स्फुटमपि नियतं शक्यते केन बोद्धुं
तं वन्दे भावभूतिं भवमरणजनिं कारणं कारणानाम् ।।६।।

## ग्रन्थविसर्जनम्

(Occurring in the third volume of the Dictionary)

यौ बाल्ये संप्रहृष्टौ हृतसकलहृदास्तां मयि स्नेहवन्तौ
याभ्यां स्वीकृत्य दुःखं विविधमतिकथं वर्द्धितोऽहं तदानीम् ।
यौ स्वे देशे नितान्तं सकलजनमनो ह्लादयन्तौ निवृत्तौ
वन्दे तौ ब्रह्मनिष्ठौ भुवि जननगुरू दुर्लभागर्गरामौ ।।७।।
यौ कौमारे कुमारं निजविशदधिया साग्रहं मां व्यनैष्टां
याभ्यां मे शीलवृत्तं चरितमपि ययोर्ज्ञानदानात् प्रपन्नम् ।
स्थित्वा पर्याप्तकालं मम हृदयगतौ कालधर्मेण यातौ
वन्दे तौ मुक्तिभाजौ दिवि चरमगुरू दुर्लभागर्गरामौ ।।८।।
स्मृत्वा यौ देवकल्पौ प्रथमपदमथो पुस्तकस्यास्य बद्धं
विघ्नः सर्वप्रकारः सततमुपनतो यत्प्रसादान्निरस्तः ।
कर्मण्यस्मिन् समाप्ते परिणतमनसानुग्रहानभ्युपेत्य
वन्दे तौ स्वर्गसंस्थौ मम परमगुरू दुर्लभागर्गरामौ ।।९।।
ययोर्विततकारुण्यादारब्धमवसायितम्
निदधे परया भक्त्या तयोः पित्रोः पदेष्विदम् ।।१०।।

## (जानकीरामभाष्यात्)

नाटकं वीरचारित्रं प्रणीतं भवभूतिना
जानकीरामसंबद्धं वाक्यार्थदुष्परिग्रहम् ।।११।।
प्रणम्य जानकीरामौ सर्वभारतपूजितौ
जानकीरामसंज्ञेन भाष्येण विवृणोम्यहम् ।।१२।।
जानकीरामसोदर्यो दुर्लभागर्गनन्दनः ।
आनन्दरामबड़ुया प्राग्ज्योतिष्पुरसम्भवः ।।१३।।
श्रीमदानन्दरामेण दुर्लभागर्भसूनुना ।
अतिक्रान्तेन कौमारं कौमारो विवृतो मुदा ।।१४।।
भ्रात्रा परशुरामस्य लौहित्यतटजन्मनः ।
परशुरामसंवादो वृत्तेनाऽयं स्फुटीकृतः ।।१५।।
संसृष्टोऽयं तृतीयोऽङ्कः संसृष्टो विषमैः पदैः ।
जानक्या विप्रयुक्तेन भाष्येण विशदीकृतः ।।१६।।
इंलण्डनगरेन्द्रस्य मध्यायतनवादिना ।
भारतेश्वरभृत्येन चारित्रमुज्ज्वलीकृतम् ।।१७।।
प्रियारण्येन न विद्यारण्येनारण्यदर्शिना ।
आरण्यकस्य सुगमा विमला विवृतिः कृता ।।१८।।
प्रथमं शैवकाष्ठायां नगरे शिवसागरे ।
तदनु नसिरावादे दिग्भागे वासवाविते ।।१९।।
ततश्च दिशि कौवेर्यामराजराजलक्षिते ।
अधुना मध्यमे भागे वर्द्धमानाभिधे पुरे ।।२०।।
दृष्टेन राजकार्याणि वङ्गशासकशासनात् ।
समलो विषमैः श्लोकैः षष्ठोऽङ्को विमलीकृतः ।।२१।।

आसीन्मे दयितो भ्राता जानकीरामविश्रुतः ।
पित्रोः प्रियतरः पुत्रः प्राग्ज्योतिष्पुरनन्दनः ।।२२।।
अङ्के शब्दे पुरावृत्ते लब्धविस्तीर्णबोधनः ।
स्वदेशस्य हिते कार्ये सदा प्रवणमानसः ।।२३।।
विंशस्यास्य शताब्दस्य वर्षे सप्तदशोन्मिते ।
इच्छया जगतः कर्तुरनभिज्ञेयतर्क्यया ।।२४।।
अविशोध्य समारब्धमैतिहासिकपुस्तकम् ।
यो यौवनं समासाद्य जगाम त्रिदशालयम् ।।२५।।
तदीयस्मरणायैव व्याख्या तन्नामसंज्ञिता ।
पदवाक्यप्रमाणस्य तत्त्वज्ञस्य कृतेः कृता ।।२६।।
चतुस्त्रिंशत्तमे वर्षे शताब्दे पूर्वभाषिते ।
आश्विने द्वादशे दिने पञ्चम्यां गुरुवासरे ।।२७।।
समाप्तिमगमदेषा स्तौमीशं करुणामयम् ।
विदुषः प्रार्थये चैतत् दोषः सर्वत्र मृष्यताम् ।।२८।।

## (धातुवृत्तिसारतः)

कौमारहारगणकारविवारसारं
श्रीदुर्गासिंहरचितं गणवृत्तिसंज्ञम् ।
श्रीमद्रमाविरचितं च मनोरमाख्यं
दृष्ट्वा विविच्य विचितो गणवृत्तिसारः ।।२९।।
बहूनि स्खलितान्यत्र पुस्तकानामशुद्धितः ।
योजकानां च बालिश्यात् क्षन्तव्यानि प्रसादये ।।३०।।

# TRANSLATION

1.Let the Sanskrit (*literally*, which has become pure through a process of reform) language in which the Adikavi (the first of the poets, i.e., Vālmīki) narrated the holy and heavenly achievements of Rāma, (being couched) in which (language) the *Kādambarī*, endowed with different sentiments and variety in composition, shines brilliantly, which, in the Bhāṣya composed by Śaṅkara, exhibits a deep and supreme intellect aiming at God, become ever brighter and live till the day of universal dissolution.

2.There ts the language, to which the world puts forth the great pure philosophy of the enlightened Sugata, from which exceedingly delightful language the ornament of the family of Taimur (i.e., Timur i Leng) derived pleasure, which, with that celebrated work (i.e., *Abhijñānaśakuntala* ) instantaneously attracted the heart of the chief of the poets of Germany (i.e., Geothe). Let that language of ours, the language of India (i.e., Sanskrit) sprinkle ambrosia for the ears everywhere and for ever.

3. Beautiful with great effulgence is that 'noble language' (or, 'the language of the Aryans') on the basis of which Bopp, born in a foreign country, started a new branch of learning by clearly showing the excessively essential relationship between the different languages, which, having lost its glory in the land of the Aryans is being revived once again by the non-Aryans of the present time.

4. Let those people belonging to the islands (i.e., the people of the U.K), by the powers of whose arms, which follow the path of intellect and justice, the earth stands subdued everywhere, by whose qualities of universal outlook all the arts stand patronised, being nourished by whose interest that celebrated classical language (i.e., Sanskrit) becomes victorious, have a stronger and greater interest (in the same language).

5. I, as an employee of Bengal, verily present this extremely simple Sansrit Dictionary for acquiring knowledge of the (said) language,as a token of esteem, to the Governor of Bengal, who is the foremost among those (who belong to the islands), who is endowed with various qualities, who is a friend of Bengal, who is highly adorable, who is bringing the said language to new effulgence with new regulations and arrangements, and who is very close to the connoisseurs.

6. I pay homage to him, whose power is unthinkable, although it makes this entire creation exceedingly enlightened; whose existence is not visible, although it is ceaselessly superbly betrayed by the hosts of created beings; the wonders of whose creation, although always explicit, cannot be understood by anybody; who has only an ideal existence , who is the cause of birth and death, and who is the cause of all causes.

7. I pay my homage to Durlabha and Gargarama, who are my gurus by virtue of giving birth to me in this world, who have now got merged with Brahman, who remained extremely delighted during my childhood, who captured the whole of my heart, who were affectionate towards me, who, in those days, brought me up by taking such pains which are beyond description, who, in their own land, highly delighted the minds of all persons, and who have now ceased to be.

8. I pay my homage to Durlabha and Gargarama who have attained emancipation and are now in the heaven as my ultimate gurus, who with their clear intellect explained the *Kumārasambhava* to me with pleasure in my childhood, who have moulded my character and demeanour, whose instructions have shaped my behaviour, who after remaining in my heart for a long time have gone away keeping conformity with the law of time.

9. I pay my homage to Durlabha and Gargarama, who are my supreme gurus, who have retired to heaven, who are like gods, in whose memory I have composed the first volume of this work and through whose blessings I could ward off all the varied impediments which were always there to confront me, as I finish this work, with a mature mind, with favours received from them.

10. With great devotion I place this work at the feet of my parents, by virtue of whose ample grace I have accomplished this work begun by me.

[From the *Jānakīrāmabhāṣya*]

11-13 The Nāṭaka, entitled Vīracāritra (or, connected with the achievement of the hero ), composed by Bhavabhūti, connected with Jānakī (i.e., Sītā) and Rāma, where it is very difficult to comprehend the purport of the sentences, is being explained , with a commentary styled Jānakīrāmabhāṣya, after paying homage to Jānakī and Rāma, adored all over India, by me, named Anundoram

Borooah, born in the city of Pragjyotisa as a brother of Janakirama and as a son of Durlabha and Garga.

14. The Act entitled Kaumāra (i.e., one which relates to the boyhood) stands explained with pleasure by Sri Anundoram, a son of Durlabha , who has passed his own boyhood.

15. The Act entitled Paraśurāmasaṁvāda (i.e., the episode of Paraśurāma) stands explained with a gloss by the brother of Paraśurāma, born on the bank of river Lauhitya.

16. This third Act called Saṁsṛṣṭa, containing difficult words, stands explained with a commentary which is without (any reference to) Jānakī [or, 'with a commentary by one who is bereft of Janaki (-rama).]

17. (The fifth Act called) Cāritra stands elucidated by a servant of the Government of India who is a Barrister-at-Law of the Middle Temple of the principal city of England (i.e., of London).

18. This easy and chaste commentary of the (Act entitled) Āraṇyaka is composed by one who has seen the forest for the purpose of acquiring knowledge and not on account of (the absence of) a wife.

19-21. The sixth Act which was intricate with difficult verses now stands simplified by one, who, by way of looking after administrative affairs under the orders of the government of Bengal, was first in the town called Śivasāgara situated in the direction of Śiva (i.e., in the North-East)and then in Nasirabad in the directin protected by Indra (i.e., in the East) and thereafter in the direction of Kubera (i.e., in the North), (in a town) which is named after one who is just the opposite of Kubera (i.e., Rājarāja) and now , (happens to be ) in the central Division in the city called Burdwan.

22-25. There was a dear brother of mine known by the name Janakiram. As a son he was dearer to the parents. He was a progeny of the city of Pragjyotisa. He acquired vast knowledge of mathematics, grammar and history. He was always keen to take part in the works beneficial for his own country. In the seventh year of the current twentieth century (of the Vikrama Era, i.e., in 1860 A. D.), after just attaining his youth, and without revising the work on history, which he began to write, he has retired to the abode of gods at the will of the Creator of the world, which cannot be known by any logic.

26. For the very purpose of his commemoration I have composed this commentary, styled after his name, on the work of one who knows the essentials of Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṁsā and Nyāya.

27-28. In the twentyfourth year of the said century (i.e., the twentieth century of Vikrama Era), in the twelfth day of the month of Āśvina, in the Pañcamī tithi, on the Thursday this work has come to an end. I pay my homage to the Lord who is full of grace. I also solicit the scolars for the favour of condoning all the blemishes.

[From the *Dhātuvṛttisāra* ]

29-30. Here I have presented a collection (of roots) in the form of a summary of the *Gaṇavṛtti* after duly sorting out the material and after having perused the *Gaṇavṛtti*, composed by Sri Durgasiṁha as a summary of the more extensive work of the 'author of the clasification of the roots' belonging to the Kātantra grammar and also the *Manoramā*, composed by Śrī Ramānātha. Many omissions and commissions have occurred here due to the inaccuracies in the manuscripts and the ignorance of the compositors. I beg apology for the same.

# NOTES

The text of the 30 Sanskrit verses composed by Anundoram Borooah may be found in the following sources : (i) *Mahāvīracarita*, P. Bd. edn (Abbr. M) (18 verses), (ii) *Dhātuvṛttisāra*, P. Bd. edn (Abbr. D) (2 verses), (iii) Biswanarayan Shastri's *Anundoram Barooah* (Abbr. S) (27 verses), (iv) S. K. Bhuyan's *Ānandarām Baruwā*, 1955 edn. (Abbr.B) (23 verses), (v) English-Sanskrit Dictionary, P. Bd. Edn. (Abbr. E) (5 verses), (vi) the first edition of the concerned works of Borooah (Abbr. F) (30 verses).

VV. 1-4. occur in B, F, S; V. 5 occurs in B, F; VV. 6-10 occur in E, F, S; VV. 11-28 occur in B, F, M; VV. 29-30 occur in D and F.

English translation of verses 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10-28 may be found also in S. Assamese translation of verses 11-13, 15, 22-28 may be found in B (pp. 96-98)

It may be noted here that the first editions, which were available to Dr. Bhuyan or to Dr. Shastri presumably contained many perforations caused by insects, and that is why many of the readings given by them probably happen to be conjectural. This stands warranted by the two widely varying incorrect readings *samūlo biṣamaiḥ* and *samalo vimalaiḥ* (in v. 21 of Appendix E) given respectively in B and S. As to how the loss even of a visarga could lead to a lot of distortion of the originally intended meaning stands warranted by the reading *kṛte* for *kṛteḥ* in v. 25 of S (i.e., v.26 of Appendix E) and the translation thereof given by Dr. Shastri.

Necessary text critical and explanatory notes are given below verse by verse :

V. 1 : In S, *śaṅkare* is obviously a printing mistake for *śāṅkare*. Such mistakes are not pointed out in case of other verses.

V. 2 : The term 'taimuravaṁśabhūṣaṇa' means emperor Shahjahan, who was a patron of Sanskrit learning. Taimur (i.e., Timur i Leng) was the Mongol warrior who restored the Mongol empire. The Mughal rulers of India, beginning with Babur, belonged to the family of Taimur. The word 'tena' (an inflected form of the word 'tat') is 'prasiddhaparāmarśaka', and as such it is rendered as 'by the celebrated'. Geothe was all praise for Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā*.

V. 4 : S reads 'dhīnayamārgaṇabhujabalaiḥ' involving metrical flaw. B reads 'bhūyādrātirbhūyasī' and S reads 'bhūyādyātibhūyasī' for 'bhūyādratirbhūyasī' of F.

V. 5 : Verses 1 to 10 occur in the second and the third volumes of the first edition of the Dictionary, and not in 'the first and second volumes' as suggested in S. (p. 89). V. 5 is not given in S. B gives 'samīkṣya' and 'jñānalabdhāyatiyasaralaṁ' for 'samīḍyam' and 'jñānalabdhyāyatiśayasaralam' of F respectively. Disjoin the Sandhi in 'labdhyāyatiśaya' as 'labdhyai+atiśaya', in 'neḍanam' as 'na+īḍanam', and in 'nāharāmi' as 'na+āharāmi'. The prose order of the core of the present verse is : 'baṅgeṣu niyuktaḥ (aham) baṅgānāṁ śāsitāraṁ saṁskṛtaṁ śabdabodham īḍanam na na āharāmi (api tu āharāmi eva)'. The two negative particles in 'neḍanam' and 'nāharāmi' make the assertion'āharāmi' more emphatic. The word 'verily' is given in the translation for conveying the sence of the emphasis. The expression 'upasahṛdyam' is taken to have an adverbial sense as in 'upkūlam'. The word 'īḍanam' is derived from the root *īḍ*, 'to laud'. (cf. 'īḍa stutau' in Sāyaṇa's commentary on *Ṛgveda*, 1.1.1.). (root īḍ = -to laud, īḍana = laudation = tribute = anything given as a token of gratitude or esteem. 'vide Apte and *New Webster's Dictionary of the English Language*, College edn. 1989).

V. 7 : S gives 'sampradṛṣṭau dṛtasakaladṛḍāstām' for 'samprahṛṣṭau hṛtasakalahṛdāstām' of F. Expound the Compound in 'hṛtasakalahṛd' as 'hṛtaṁ sakalahṛd yathā syāt tathā' (In a manner so as to steal away or capture the whole heart). As a matter of faithful transliteration the name of Anundoram's father is given in the translation as 'Gargarama' although Anundoram himself gives it as 'Gurgoram'.

V. 8 : S gives 'vyanaiṣṭhām' for 'vyanaiṣṭām' of F.

V.11: Verses 11-28 occur in the *Jānakīrāmabhāṣya*. In V. 11, S reads *Vīracaritam*, which upsets the metre. The words *carita* and *caritra* are synonymous, so far as both mean 'history, life, account, story, adventure', etc. (Vide Apte). The word *cāritra*, derived from *caritra* with a *svārthika aṇ*, is also synonymous with *carita*. Hence *Viracāritram* may be taken as just another name of the drama *Viracaritam*.

V.14: B and S read 'durlabhāgargasūnunā' for 'durlabhāgarbhasūnunā' of F.

V. 16 : 'Jānakyā viprayuktena' may qualify (i) 'bhāṣyeṇa' or (ii) the

author of the 'bhāṣya'. In the second case 'jānakī' means Janakirama according to the maxim 'nāmaikadeśagrahaṇena nāmamātragrahaṇam'

V. 17 : S gives 'madhyāyayatanavāsinā' for 'madhyāyatanavādinā' of F. The word 'vādinā' carries the idea of an 'advocate' or 'a pleader'. Borooah refers to himself as 'of the Middle Temple Barrister-at-Law' in the title pages of the *Prosody* and the *Nānārthasaṁgraha*. 'madhyāyatana' = Middle Temple.

V. 18. The expression 'priyāraṇyena' means 'for whom there is an araṇya (forest) on account of the consort'. This is based on the notion that 'the household' or 'the world' becomes a forest without a wife as expressed with statements like the following ones : (i) 'priyānāśe kṛtsnaṁ kila jagad araṇyaṁ hi bhavati' (*Uttararāmacarita*, 6.30), (ii) 'na gṛhaṁ gṛhamityāhur gṛhiṇī gṛhamucyate. gṛhantu gṛhiṇīhīnamaraṇyasadṛśaṁ matam:' (*Mahābhārata*, Śānti. 144.6) and (iii) 'yasya bhāryā gṛhe nāsti sādhvī ca priyavādinī. araṇyaṁ tena gantavyaṁ yathāraṇyaṁ tathā gṛham:' (*Mahābhārata*, Śānti. 144.17) The expression 'vidyāraṇyena' means 'for whom the forest is resorted to for the sake of learning'. This is based on the tradition of retiring to the forest in the third stage of life (i,e., in the vānaprasthāśrama), which used to be the time of studying the Āraṇyakas. What the author of this verse means to say is that he may be supposed to have seen the forest not because of not having a wife but because of remaining engrossed in the persuit of knowledge.

VV. 19-21 : B reads 'samūlo viṣamaiḥ'. S reads 'samalo vimalaiḥ'. The translation given in S does not tally with the reading. In the translation given in S 'Arājarāja' is taken to be a place name. But there was never any place in Bengal with such a name. 'Rājarāja' means Kubera. cf. *Meghadūta*, 1.3. The northern town in question is Dinajpur. It is not unlikely that by the expression 'arājarājalakṣite' the very name of Dinajpur is implied. Rājarāja is Kubera, who is rich, because of being the lord of riches. Arājarāja is the opposite of the Rājarāja. Hence, Arājarāja is poor. The place-name Dinajpur may be taken to be a modified form of the word 'dīnajapura', which should literally mean 'the town of one born of a poor father'. dīna = poor, dīnaja = son of poor father. Hence, *dīnaja* means poor and just the opposite of *Rājarāja*, who is rich. Virodha ( i.e. opposition) is one of the six meanings of the negative particle *naÑ*. cf.

tatsādṛśyam abhāvaśca tadanyatvaṁ tadalpatā.
aprāśastyaṁ *virodhaśca* nañarthāḥ ṣaṭ prakīrtitāḥ :
Thus, 'arājarāja' is just 'the opposite of Rājarāja'.

Dinajpur now belongs to the northernmost part of Bangladesh.

V. 26 : S reads 'kṛte' for 'kṛteḥ'. Accordingly, S takes 'padavākyapramāṇasya tattvajñasya' as referring to the reader. But it is obvious that 'padavākyapramāṇasya tattvajnasya' refers to the author of the drama, i.e., Bhavabhūti, who is clearly referred to as 'padavākyapramāṇatattvajña' by the Sūtradhāra in the Prastāvanā of all of his three dramas. It may, however, be noted that the epithet 'padavākyapramāṇajñaḥ' does not occur in certain editions of each of the three dramas. (Vide *Uttararāmacarita*, ed. by MM. P.V. Kane and C.N. Joshi, MLBD's 5th edn. 1971, Introduction, p. 1, n). It is rather strange that this epithet is not given in Borooah's own edn. of the *Mahāvīracarita*. There is some difference of opinion regarding the meaning of the terms Vākya and Pramāṇa contained in the said epithet. (MM. Kane and Joshi, op. cit., p. 2). For instance, according to MM. Kane and Joshi (loc. cit) and Gangasagar Rai (*Mahākavi Bhavabhūti*, chowkhamba, 1965, p. 25) Pada means Grammar, Vākya means Nyāya or Logic and Pramāṇa means Mīmāṁsā, i.e., Pūrvamīmāṁsā. This is the view of Vīrarāghava, who in his commentary on the *Mahāvīracarita* presents the gloss :padavākyapramānajño vyākaraṇatarkamīmāṁsābhijñaḥ (MM. Kane and Joshi, op cit. Notes, p.4) . But Mukulabhaṭṭa in his *Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā* (Nirnaya-sagar Press edn. 1916, p. 21) gives the meaning of Pada, Vākya and Pramāṇa as Vyākaraṇa, Mimāṁsā and Tarka (i.e., Nyāya or Logic) respectively. In the Vṛtti (i.e., elucidation) on the half Kārikā, 'padavākyapramāṇeṣu tadetad pratibimbitam', Mukula says:

"padāvagatihetutvātpadaṁ vyākaraṇam,
vākyasamanvayāvasāyahetutvād vākyaṁ mīmāṁsā,
pramāṇapratipattikāritvāt pramāṇaṁ tarkaḥ".

(See also MM. Kane and Joshi, loc. cit). Mukula is himself a Mīmāṁsaka. So we have preferred to follow his explation in our translation.

vv.29-30 : Text and translation of these two verses are not given in B and S. In the third foot of verse 30, the Publication Board edition of the *Dhātuvṛttisāra* reads bījakānāṁ for yojakānāṁ of the first edition. See also supra, n 113a.

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अन्यत् तृणमिव त्याज्यमपुक्तं पद्मजन्मना॥" Yo. II. xviii. 3.

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